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Witnesses for Christ and memorials of Church life

WITNESSES FOR CHRIST.

The Pine Forest, Ravenna.

From an original drawing by Edward Backhouse.

WITNESSES FOR CHRIST

AND

MEMORIALS OF CHURCH LIFE

FROM THE FOURTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

A SEQUEL TO "EARLY CHURCH HISTORY."

BY

EDWARD BACKHOUSE

AND

CHARLES TYLOR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Nothing more forcibly marks the weakness of a bad cause than persecution. Satan, who has no truth to propose to men, comes with axe and sword to make way for his errors. Christ's method is widely different. He teaches the truth, and says: "If any man *will* come after Me and be my disciple":—when He comes to the heart He uses no violence, but says, "Open to Me, my sister, my spouse." If we open He comes in; if we will not open He retires; for the truth is not preached with swords and spears, not by bands of soldiers, but by counsel and persuasion.—ATHANASIUS.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PERIOD II.

FROM THE DEATH OF AUGUSTINE, A.D. 430,
TO THE ACCESSION OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 590.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

The Nestorian Strife 3

CHAPTER II.

The Nestorian Strife (*concluded*) 27

CHAPTER III.

Christian Art in Ravenna 50

CHAPTER IV.

Mary-Worship 77

Appendix—Auricular Confession 90

CHAPTER V.

Benedict 93

PERIOD III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT,
A.D. 590, TO THE END OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Gregory the Great 109

Appendix I.—The Papacy 130

II.—Purgatory 133

III.—Indulgences 135

CHAPTER II.

PAGE

Christianity in Britain 138

CHAPTER III.

The Gospel in Northumbria 165

CHAPTER IV.

British Missionaries to the German Nations 206

CHAPTER V.

The Mohammedan Conquest 227

CHAPTER VI.

The Paulicians 250

CHAPTER VII.

Witnesses from the Eighth to the Tenth Century 272

PERIOD IV.

FROM THE TENTH CENTURY TO THE TERMINATION OF THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES, A.D. 1229.

CHAPTER I.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages—St. Gall 305

CHAPTER II.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages (*continued*)—Cluny 326

CHAPTER III.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages (*continued*)—Citeaux 352

CHAPTER IV.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages (*continued*)—Clairvaux, and Bernard 369

CHAPTER V.

PAGE
Monastic Life in the Middle Ages (*concluded*)—Crowland, St. Edmundsbury 408

CHAPTER VI.

The Paulicians in Western Europe 425

CHAPTER VII.

The Reformers of the Twelfth Century 444

CHAPTER VIII.

The Waldenses 484

CHAPTER IX.

The Crusade against the Albigenses 508
Conclusion 548

INDEX 555

ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. II.

The Pine Forest, Ravenna	*Chromo-lithograph.*	*Frontispiece*	
Marble Sarcophagus, S. Lorenzo, Milan; supposed to be the Tomb of Ataulfus, Husband of Galla Placidia	„	*page*	55
Palace of Theodoric, Ravenna	*Woodcut* ..	„	61
Marble Tomb of the Empress Galla Placidia, Ravenna	*Chromo-lithograph*	„	64
Justinian and Theodora, after the Mosaics in the Church of S. Vitale, Ravenna	*Etching*	„	66
Mausoleum of Theodoric, Ravenna ..	*Woodcut*	„	69
Goodmanham Church, near Market Weighton	„	„	167
Ancient Font in Goodmanham Church	„	„	168
Fac-simile of Part of a Page from the Durham Book (Lindisfarne Gospels)	*Chromo-lithograph*	„	186
Monkwearmouth Church	*Woodcut*	„	192
Fragment of Sculpture from Monkwearmouth Church	„	„	194
Corner of a Page of Ornamentation from the Durham Book	„	„	194
Jarrow Church	„	„	195
Ceolfrid's Farewell	„	„	196
Bede's Chair	„	„	198
Death of Bede	„	„	202
Destruction of Monkwearmouth Monastery by the Danes, A.D. 870	*Etching*	„	205
Baptismal Vow, in Old German	*Woodcut*	„	226
The Mosque of Omar, Jerusalem	*Photograph*	„	237
Queen Thyra's Cup and Cross	*Woodcut*	„	289
The Jellinge Stone, Jutland: Christian Face	„	„	290
Ditto: Pagan Face	„	„	291
Ditto: Inscription	„	„	291

Part of the Ivory Cover of a Book of the Gospels, the work of Tutilo a Monk of St. Gall in the ninth century	*Chromo-lithograph*	*page*	313
The Seal of Bernard of Clairvaux ..	*Woodcut*	„	347
Model of the Abbey of Cluny in Burgundy	„	„	349
The Church at Vezélay, Burgundy ..	*Photograph*	„	460
The last Survivors of the Publicani at Oxford, A.D. 1160	*Chromo-lithograph*	„	481
Penance of King Henry II. at Becket's Tomb	*Etching*	„	482
The Waldensian Candlestick	*Woodcut*	„	507
Fac-simile of Part of a Canto from the Manuscript of the Troubadour's Lay (Croisade contre les Albigeois) ..	„	„	536

PERIOD II.

FROM THE DEATH OF AUGUSTINE, A.D. 430,
TO THE ACCESSION OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 590.

CHAPTER I.

The Nestorian Strife.

Section I. That long conflict of tongues and pens, and not unfrequently of swords also, which commenced with the Nestorian Controversy, has special claims on our attention. Not only does its record form a faithful mirror of the age, fraught with instructive lessons, but the contest itself powerfully hastened, if it did not actually produce, that vital decay of the Eastern Churches which rendered them an easy prey to the hosts of Islam. V. Cent.

The Arian controversy turned on the question of our Lord's proper deity; the Nestorian on that of the two natures in Him, the human and the divine. The problems on which the Eastern Church of the fifth and sixth centuries wasted her energy may be regarded as insoluble; and it is not always easy even to follow the subtle arguments of the disputants. But the narrative is curious; and if the reader has any faith still remaining in the purity of the ancient Church, or in the efficacy of Church councils, it will be severely tried before he has followed the story to its end.

Two schools of thought stand opposed to each other, the Alexandrian, and the Antiochian or

Per. II. Chap. 1.

Syrian. At Alexandria, where the enemy to be combated was the Arian denial of Christ's eternal Godhead, his divinity was insisted upon at the expense of his humanity, so that it was customary to say, "God was born, suffered, and redeemed us with his blood;" and the favourite appellation of the Virgin Mary (whose worship was just coming into vogue) was that of *Theo-tokos* (bearer or mother of God).[1] At the head of this school was Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who seems to have regarded the Incarnation almost as the existence of a new entity, which is in every relation God and man in one. The Antiochian school, on the contrary, having to contend against the heresy of Apollinaris,[2] who taught that in Christ the human body was united with an animal soul only (the place of the rational soul being supplied by the Divine Logos[3]), took an opposite direction. This school, distinguished for sound learning and sobriety of interpretation, but with a tendency towards rationalism, was founded by Diodorus of Tarsus[4] and Theodore of Mopsuestia.[5] In its scheme the divine and human nature were held so rigidly apart as to make Christ, though not pro-

[1] The phrase is used by Athanasius.—See his *Life of Anthony*, § 12.

[2] Bishop of Laodicea, died 392; see *ante*, pp. 73, 103.

[3] Christ was thus made a middle being, between God and man. Apollinaris regarded the orthodox view of a union of full humanity with full divinity in one person—of two wholes in one whole—as an absurdity.

[4] Died A.D. 394; see *ante*, p. 249.

[5] He was bishop from 393–428; see *ante*, pp. 179, 249.

fessedly, yet virtually, a double person. The effect was to weaken the cardinal truths of his sufferings, death, and resurrection, and thus impair the reality of his redemption. To this school belonged Nestorius, who however held its doctrine in a more modified form than his friend and teacher Theodore. In the course of the struggle a third standard was raised by the monk Eutyches of Constantinople, who, whilst he aimed at supporting Cyril and the Alexandrian party, created a fresh schism by going still further, and teaching that there is only one nature in Christ, the divine.[1] V. Cent.

If it is difficult at the beginning of the contest accurately to mark out the relative position and front of the combatants, it is still more so to follow the hostile banners through the shifting scenes of this fiercely contested field. "Never was there a case," observes Milman, "in which the contending parties approximated so closely. Both appealed to the Nicene Creed; both admitted the pre-existence, the impassibility of the Eternal Word; but the fatal duty which the Christians in that age, and unhappily in subsequent ages, have imposed upon themselves, of considering the detection of heresy the first of religious obligations, mingled as it now was with human passions and interests, made the breach irreparable." "The real differences between the combatants on either side,"

[1] Robertson, *Hist. of the Church*, i. pp. 436, 437; Schaff, *Nicene Christianity*, pp. 706–720; Neander, *Church History*, iv. pp. 119, 120.

Per. II. Chap. 1.

remarks Roberts, "in the maintenance of the dogmas of Eutyches and Nestorius, were often undiscernible amidst the dust and smoke of the combat; and the sharpest feeling of hostility in either party arose out of their mistakes of each other's meaning." [1]

Nestorius succeeded to the episcopal chair of Constantinople, A.D. 428.[2] He began his rule as an ardent Catholic. On the fifth day after his ordination he endeavoured to deprive the Arians of their church: they burned it down in despair. "Give me," he cried in his inaugural discourse before the Emperor Theodosius II., "the earth purged of heretics, and in exchange I will give thee heaven. Help me to destroy the heretics, and I will help thee to conquer the Persians." For some time he refrained from openly avowing his own opinions. The challenge came from his presbyter Anastasius, who said in public: "Let no man style Mary *Mother of God* (*Theotokos*), for Mary was human, and it is impossible that God should be born of humanity." This was followed up by a bishop of Mœsia who was visiting Constantinople, and who in one of his sermons cried out: "Let him be accursed who calls Mary *Mother of God*." [3]

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[1] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, i. p. 140; Roberts, *Church Memorials*, p. 293.

[2] He is described as "simple in dress, grave in demeanour, pale and meagre with ascetic observances, and of surpassing eloquence."—Milman, i. p. 141.

[3] Socrates, b. vii. c. 29; Evagrius, b. i. c. 2; Neander, iv. pp. 123–127; Robertson, i. p. 438; Milman, i. p. 143, note.

Upon this a violent agitation arose in the city, A.D. 428. not only amongst the clergy, but amongst all classes of the people. It was as if the denial of the name *Theotokos* had robbed mankind of the hope of salvation. The general feeling found its utterance through Eusebius, afterwards bishop of Dorylæum in Phrygia, and also through Proclus, an unsuccessful candidate for the see of Constantinople. One day when Nestorius was preaching, the former stood up in full church, and in contradiction of the bishop, asserted that the "Eternal Word begotten before the ages had submitted to be born a second time." And Proclus, in a sermon, accused Nestorius and his party of believing only in a deified man, and of detracting from the honour of Mary. Nestorius was not slow to retort: he compared his adversaries to the pagans who gave mothers to their gods. Nevertheless, he declared that if any of the simple-minded were disposed to call the Virgin Mary *Theotokos*, he would not quarrel with them, provided they did not convert her into a goddess; but he proposed instead the safer and more Scriptural term *Christo-tokos* (the mother of Christ), inasmuch as the name Christ belongs to the whole person, uniting the divine and the human natures.[1]

[1] Evagrius, b. i. c. 7; Robertson, i. p. 439; Neander, iv. pp. 127–131; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Eusebius (34), ii. p. 356. As Nestorius justly

Per. II. Chap. 1.

This did not satisfy his opponents. A large party of the clergy and monks refused to recognize him any longer as their bishop, or even to hold Church fellowship with him; and a placard was affixed to the walls of the principal church, probably by Eusebius, exhibiting a parallel between his tenets and those of the heretical Paul of Samosata, whose name was still as a by-word in the Church. Once also when Nestorius was about to preach, a monk placed himself in the way, refusing to let him enter because it was forbidden to a heretic to teach in the churches. His enemies even threatened to throw him into the sea. In retaliation Nestorius made free use of deposition, whipping, banishment, and other forcible means against such as were amenable to his jurisdiction.[1]

Cyril was watching events from Alexandria. His first act in opposition to Nestorius was to publish a homily, for the Easter festival, on the union of deity and humanity in Christ, and afterwards to address to the Egyptian monks a long admonitory letter on the same subject. In both these documents he vindicated the title *Theotokos*, and sounded an alarm against the disturbers of orthodoxy. An unfriendly correspondence ensued between himself and Nestorius. But the latter,

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points out, the Scriptures nowhere teach that God, but everywhere that Jesus Christ, the son of God, was born of Mary.

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 131, 132; Robertson, ibid.

notwithstanding the arrogant speech with which he commenced his rule, and the intolerant and violent acts of which he had been guilty, seems to have been a sincere man, desirous of doing what he believed to be right. When therefore a good presbyter named Lampon proffered his friendly offices between the two disputants, Nestorius readily accepted his mediation, and sent Cyril a short conciliatory letter which closed the correspondence. "Lampon's gentleness," he wrote, "has conquered me. Nothing is more powerful than Christian gentleness. When I see such a spirit in any one I am seized with fear; it is as though God dwelt in him."[1] A.D. 428–430.

But Cyril was too envious of the Byzantine see, and too full of ill-will against his rival, to lay aside his hostility. He intrigued with the clergy at Constantinople; and when Nestorius proposed that the matters in dispute should be referred to a general council, he wrote to Celestine bishop of Rome, sending him a garbled report of the doctrines taught by Nestorius, and craftily leaving it to his decision whether the offender ought not to be deprived of the fellowship of the Church. Nestorius likewise sent Celestine an account of the controversy, but in this letter, instead of conceding to the bishop of Rome any jurisdiction over the Churches, he addressed him simply as

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 134–139.

Per. II. Chap. 1.

an equal. Celestine, as was to be expected, espoused the cause of Cyril. He pronounced Nestorius guilty of heresy, and directed that unless he should within ten days present a written recantation of his errors, and testify his agreement with the Roman and Alexandrian Churches on the birth of Christ, he should be degraded and excommunicated. At the same time in a letter to Cyril, full of extravagant praises, he gave to that bishop "by the sovereign authority of the Apostolic See," power to carry the sentence into execution. The copy of the decree which he sent to Nestorius was accompanied by vehement reproaches.[1]

Thus armed, Cyril called upon Nestorius to recant, and at the same time sent him a creed or body of doctrine set forth in twelve formulas of Anathema, which he required him to subscribe. This step had the effect of converting the personal dispute between himself and Nestorius into a rupture with the Antiochian Church. The Syrian bishops, many of them men of learning and piety, were indignant at Cyril's conduct; and their leader John, the patriarch of Antioch, selected Theodoret[2] to draw up an answer to the Ana-

[1] Ibid., pp. 139–145.

[2] Bishop of Cyrus on the Euphrates and a fellow-student of Chrysostom, well known also as the author of one of that series of Church histories (commencing with the invaluable work of Eusebius) which covered the first six centuries of the Christian era, and from which we have had frequent occasion to quote.—See *ante*, vol. i. p. 249.

themas. In his answer, however, Theodoret unhappily showed himself more eager to confute Cyril than to discover and set forth Scriptural truth.[1] He did not consider, controversialists seldom consider, that victory at the expense of truth is not victory, but defeat. A.D. 430–431.

Meanwhile the messengers of Celestine and Cyril presented their demands to Nestorius. Conscious of right, and of his independent dignity, the bishop treated their message with disdain. At the Imperial Court also, Cyril's conduct produced an unfavourable impression; and Theodosius II. acceded to Nestorius' request and summoned a general council.[2]

The council met at Ephesus in the year 431.[3] With his copy of the summons Cyril received an imperial reprimand for his meddlesome and intriguing conduct. The better to secure calm deliberation and order, the Emperor sent down the Count Candidian, one of his wisest ministers, as his representative. The count ordered all monks and lay strangers to quit the city, and forbade the bishops to absent themselves from the synod during its session, and especially to visit the court. Cyril and Nestorius arrived at Ephesus at the appointed time. The former brought with

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[1] Neander, iv. pp. 148, 149.

[2] Ibid., pp. 151, 152.

[3] It is known as the Third General Council, Nicæa, A.D. 325, being the First, and Constantinople, 381, the Second.—See *ante*, vol. i. p. 97, &c

Per. II. Chap. 1.

him sixty Egyptian bishops, blindly devoted to his will. He had also a powerful colleague in Memnon, bishop of Ephesus itself, who had forty prelates under him. Nestorius deemed it necessary to obtain from Candidian a guard of soldiers for his protection.[1]

The arrival of John of Antioch and the Syrian bishops, who made the journey by land, was delayed by violent rains and other causes, so that sixteen days after the appointed time they were still five or six days' journey from the city. John informed Cyril of this in a respectful letter which he sent to excuse their delay. But it chimed in so completely with Cyril's purpose to proceed in the absence of the friends of Nestorius, that he refused to wait longer. On the 22nd of June, therefore, notwithstanding the protest of Candidian and of Nestorius and forty-one other bishops,[2] he opened the synod, having allowed his party to place him in the chair. The council was held in the church of St. Mary, where, as tradition affirmed, the Virgin, the *Theotokos*, had been interred. About 200 bishops were present. Nestorius kept aloof, declaring that he would appear only when all were assembled.[3]

Under these circumstances an orderly investiga-

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[1] Neander, iv. pp. 152–154.

[2] Robertson says, the protest of "Theodoret and sixty-seven other bishops, of whom twenty-two were metropolitans."—*Hist. of the Church*, i. p. 446.

[3] Neander, iv. pp. 155, 156; Robertson, ibid.

tion was not to be thought of; the issue had indeed been determined beforehand. In a single day, the assembly sitting from morning till night, Nestorius was cited, arraigned, condemned, deposed, and deprived of his orders. At the conclusion of the farce, the assembly raised a tumultuous shout, "Anathema, Anathema to him who does not anathematize Nestorius!" and, as the record has it, "after many tears," proceeded to pass sentence against him in the following terms: "The Lord Jesus Christ, blasphemed by Nestorius, has ordained by this most holy synod, that he should be deprived of his episcopal rank, and of all sacerdotal fellowship." This sentence was signed by 198 bishops;[1] after which Rheginus of Constantia in Cyprus preached a discourse in which Nestorius was branded as "worse than Cain, as one under whom the earth ought to open and swallow him up, and fire to rain down on him from heaven that the simple might witness his end." The preacher thus concluded: "Let us worship and adore the God, Logos, who has condescended to walk among us in the flesh, without separating Himself from the essence of the Father."[2] In the message to Nestorius which A.D. 431.

[1] Some of the subscriptions are found in this form, "I —— have subscribed by the hand of ——, because I cannot write." It was the same with the signatures at the Council of Chalcedon, eighteen years afterwards. —Jortin's *Remarks on Eccles. Hist.*, iii. p. 116.

[2] "As if," remarks Neander, "this worship of the incarnate God did not exist among the party of Nestorius, because they expressed themselves in

accompanied the sentence he was called "a new Judas." The Ephesians were violently orthodox, and when the sentence was proclaimed by heralds, it caused tumultuous rejoicing in the city. The people, who had waited from morning till evening, broke out into shouts of triumph, and escorted Cyril and the bishops in state to their houses with torches and censers.[1] We need not stay to characterize this council as it deserves, because it was succeeded some years later by one far more violent and infamous.

The council sent to the Emperor a party statement of what had been done, full of perversions of the truth regarding Nestorius; and prayed for an order that the writings of that heretic might be burned wherever they were found. Nestorius and ten of his friends sent up a counter-memorial, complaining of the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of Cyril and Memnon, demanding protection, and praying the Emperor to summon a new and impartial assembly. Candidian also drew up his report, in which he gave it as his judgment that the decrees of the synod could have no legal validity.[2]

In the midst of these transactions, John of

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other language! Thus," he adds, "a new slavery to forms of expression in religion was again to be substituted in place of the worship of God in spirit and in truth!" iv. pp. 159.

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 156–159; Robertson, i. p. 447; Milman, i. p. 165; Schaff, pp. 724, 725; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 48. These events and the place suggest a parallel with Acts xix. 34, 35; as if, almost, the *Theotokos* had taken the place of the *Dio-petes*, Diana of the Ephesians.

[2] Neander, iv. pp. 159, 160.

Antioch and the Syrian bishops, thirty in number, arrived at Ephesus, and in conjunction with the other prelates who were friendly to Nestorius, proceeded very imprudently to constitute themselves a new council.[1] With still greater imprudence they passed sentence of deposition upon Cyril and Memnon, and excommunicated all who had taken part in the proceedings against Nestorius. Now also came upon the scene the deputies of the Roman bishop, who had been detained by contrary winds, and who, according to their instructions, approved of all that Cyril had done. Thus fortified, the Cyrillian council proceeded to summon before it John of Antioch and his associates, and when they refused to appear passed sentence of suspension against them. The Emperor, on receiving Candidian's report, sent a letter to the synod, censuring its conduct, and declaring that he could not approve of any judgment upon the doctrines in dispute, which did not proceed from the whole united council. Unable to offer any reasonable bar to this equitable decree, Cyril called in the aid of fanaticism.[2] A.D. 431.

Section II. There was at Constantinople an archimandrite,[3] held in great veneration, named

[1] This party is henceforth spoken of as the Oriental Party.

[2] Neander, iv. pp. 161–164.

[3] Archimandrite, "ruler over the fold," signifies an abbot or superior of monasteries.

Per. II. Chap. 1.

Dalmatius. For forty-eight years he had lived in seclusion. The Emperor himself had sought his help, but could never prevail upon him, even in times of public calamity, to leave his cell. Dalmatius had from the first regarded Nestorius as a teacher of error, and was wont to say to those who visited him: "Take heed to yourselves, my brethren, an evil beast is come into this city who may do you an injury." To this man Cyril sent an account of the judgment passed upon Nestorius, and of the affliction which, as he pretended, the faithful were suffering at his hands. The arrival of the letter set the whole body of zealous monks in commotion. Dalmatius imagined himself summoned by a voice from heaven to come forth at last from his seclusion in order to save the Church from ruin. The abbots and monks issued from their cloisters, and chanting psalms, with torches in their hands, marched in procession with Dalmatius at their head to the palace of the Emperor. Vast multitudes followed and stood before the gate, chanting in their choirs, whilst the abbots were admitted to an audience. In the presence of a full court Dalmatius addressed the Emperor in the bold and confident tone usual with him, and handing him the letter of the synod, asked, to whom he would give ear, to six thousand bishops, or to one godless man? The weak-minded Emperor promised that the Cyrillian party should be allowed to send deputies to Constantinople.

When Dalmatius announced to the multitudes outside that a favourable answer had been received, the vast procession, singing the 150th Psalm, marched forward to one of the churches, where Dalmatius read the letter of the synod and gave an account of his audience. As soon as he had finished, a universal shout was raised, "Anathema to Nestorius!"[1] A.D. 431.

Acting on the permission thus granted, Cyril sent three bishops to Constantinople, and the effect of their influence was soon apparent. Some who had hitherto numbered themselves amongst the friends of Nestorius were won over to the opposite side. To one of these the persecuted bishop wrote a touching letter, not reproaching him for his defection, but vindicating his own orthodoxy, and declaring how thankful he would be to return to the tranquillity of his old cloister life. The Oriental bishops on their part were not idle. They still had friends at court, one of whom, the count Irenæus, a colleague of Candidian, laboured to counteract the influence of the Cyrillian bishops. His success, however, was only partial; the Emperor's understanding was convinced, but he was the tool of court parties, which in turn were directed by outside influences. All he could do was to order that the three deposed bishops, Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon, should remain de-

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 164–166.

Per. II. Chap. 1.

posed, and that the rest of the council should lay aside their mutual contention, and prepare to return to their own sees in peace and concord.[1]

The Imperial message was entrusted to the count John, one of the secretaries of state, who invited the bishops on both sides to meet him at his own apartment in Ephesus. But instead of listening to what he had to say, the two parties, as soon as they met, fell into vehement disputes, which lasted the greater part of the day and went on even to blows. Unable to bring them to reason, the count caused Cyril and Nestorius to be forcibly removed; after which he laboured in every way to restore harmony. John of Antioch and his friends were prepared to make concessions; but the Cyrillians, to whom the person of their leader was of much more importance than that of Nestorius was to his party, were not so compliant, and when the count proposed that a common confession of faith should be drawn up, they would have nothing to do with it. One point on which the Emperor had expressly insisted was that the Oriental bishops should declare themselves in favour of the *Theotokos*. In accordance with this, the more moderate amongst them drew up a confession, in which, whilst the two natures

[1] Ibid., pp. 166–168. The extreme heat of the summer, and confinement within the walls of Ephesus, affected the health of many of the bishops, as well as of their attendants; several died, while many who had not made provision for so long an absence from their homes, were reduced to distress for the means of subsistence.—Robertson, i. p. 450.

in Christ were distinguished with precision, a sense was admitted in which the term *Theotokos* might be used. This concession, however, was distasteful to the more zealous of the party, who wholly rejected the term.[1] A.D. 431.

Count John seeing that all his pains to restore peace were ineffectual, advised the Emperor to send for deputies from both sides, and himself to enter into a personal investigation of the whole matter. To this the Emperor agreed; and eight bishops from each party went up to Constantinople. Soon after their departure from Ephesus, Nestorius was informed that the Emperor, in court phrase, "had given him permission" to return to his cloister. Weary of strife and care, he gladly obeyed, and retired to his cell outside the gates of Antioch. At the same time Cyril and Memnon were by an Imperial decree restored to their episcopal dignity.[2]

When the deputies of the two parties arrived at Chalcedon, they were directed not to cross the Bosphorus into Constantinople, for fear of exciting an insurrection of the monks. This prohibition, in the case of the Cyrillians, was presently withdrawn; whilst the Oriental delegates, still detained on the Asiatic side, were set upon by the ferocious monks of the suburb, and some of them wounded. By this time the mind of the Emperor had be-

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 168, 169.

[2] Ibid., p. 170.

Per. II. Chap. 1.

come entirely closed against Nestorius, and when the restoration of that bishop to his see was urged by some members of the privy council, he cried, "Let no one speak to me of him, I have had enough of him already." The Oriental deputies, after five pretended audiences,[1] seeing that their longer tarriance would be to no purpose, obtained leave to return to their homes; as did also the rest of the bishops who had remained at Ephesus.[2]

Notwithstanding all that had taken place, there was little disposition at the Imperial Court to support Cyril in his antagonism to the Orientals. His dogmatic stiffness was regarded as the cause of the continued divisions in the Church. To further his case he had recourse to the arts of cajolery and bribery, and spent so much money[3] on chamberlains and court ladies, that the Churches at Alexandria were burdened with debt.[4]

But if Cyril was regarded with suspicion, the hatred against Nestorius grew more and more intense. Even John of Antioch now wavered, and at length drew off from his old friend and ally. Cyril, on his part, finding his intrigues produce but little fruit, began to see that a timely concession might win over the moderate Orientals to the condemnation of Nestorius. An unrighteous

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[1] At a villa at Chalcedon. [2] Neander, iv. pp. 171, 172.

[3] These bribes were styled *benedictions*.

[4] Ibid., p. 173, and note.

compact was accordingly entered into between the two parties. Cyril subscribed a confession of faith, essentially identical with that which the moderate Orientals had sent up to Constantinople. John of Antioch consented to condemn Nestorius, and to recognize Maximian as bishop of Constantinople in his place. This compromise, made in the year 432, met with the usual fate of such hollow and artificial reconciliations. Concealing the inward schism which still continued to exist, it merely served to call forth new divisions. Cyril was accused by the zealots of his party of betraying his own cause, whilst in his "confession" the Ultra-Orientals saw the hated spectre of Apollinarianism rise again into view.[1] A.D. 432.

But whilst there were divisions in the Oriental camp with regard to the scheme of doctrine now put forth by Cyril, there was little disposition to follow John's example in condemning Nestorius.

[1] Ibid., pp. 174–177, and note. One of the Oriental bishops, Andreas of Samosata, relates a singular dream. He found himself in an assembly of bishops, where he was told that the heretic Apollinaris was in reality still living. Andreas in astonishment asked several times whether this really was so, and Alexander assured him it was. All at once they entered a house where Apollinaris, in extreme old age, lay upon a bed. As they were about to take their seats by the bedside the old man rose and distributed the elements of the Supper. The bishop John of Antioch sitting on the bed received the bread and wine from his hand. But Andreas with indignation said within himself, "What accommodation to circumstances is this? it is a sin against the Holy Ghost; it is trifling with the incarnation of our Lord." With these words he awoke, and gave earnest expression to the wish that the dream might not prove true, that Apollinaris, who had re-appeared, so to speak, in Cyril, might not bring them all over to his own doctrine.—Ibid.

With Theodoret at their head, the Syrian bishops declared that they would consent, "neither with hand, tongue, nor heart," to the unjust and wicked sentence which had been passed upon him; and they not only continued to regard Cyril as excluded from the Church, but they excommunicated all who accepted the compromise. Encroaching conduct on the part of John still further estranged them from him, and the schism which thus arose in the diocese of Antioch, spread into other parts of the East, until there was formed an association of bishops who were opposed to the three patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch.[1]

Nestorius was still dear to many at Constantinople, and on the death of Maximian, in 433, vast multitudes assembled and demanded his restoration, threatening in case of refusal to set fire to the cathedral. This demonstration however was of no avail. Proclus, who had been, as we have seen, one of the first to oppose Nestorius, was elected patriarch, and leagued himself with Cyril and John, in supporting the unnatural compact of the previous year. The latter, determined to overcome the resistance of the Oriental Church, employed threats and bribery, and even obtained an Imperial edict for the expulsion of such bishops as refused to accept the articles of agreement.

[1] Ibid., pp. 178–181.

Men who for a long period of years had given their lives wholly to their spiritual office, were now threatened with a forcible separation from the communities by whom they were beloved and respected, because the arbitrary will of a few individuals found it possible through the Court to rule over the Church.[1] A.D. 433.

Most of the bishops, including even Theodoret, bent before the storm. A few remained faithful, and were driven from their sees by military force. Amongst these are especially to be named Meletius of Mopsuestia and Alexander, the venerable bishop of Hierapolis, who set the noble example of preferring the answer of a good conscience above worldly advantage and imperial favour. Alexander boldly declared that even if the dead were to rise and testify in favour of the Egyptian doctrines, he must yet be true to his own conscience, and reject them. When he was torn from his flock, a universal lamentation arose through the city; the churches were closed, and it was necessary to open them by force. Meletius, when reproached with the presumption of standing out alone against the united judgment of the whole Christian world, replied that God has given to men the dominion over their own will; whence it has often happened, as the Old and New Testaments show, that a few, inspired by faith in God,

[1] Ibid., pp. 181–183.

Per. II. Chap. I.

have defended the truth against the multitude. "Pardon me, I pray you," he said, "if I find myself unable to deceive my own conscience. As soon as I see the order for my removal signed by the Emperor's own hand, I shall leave the church, still praising God as before. I am ready by his grace not only to give up my church, but to die a thousand deaths rather than sin against my conscience." He was banished to Armenia. Neither of these faithful Witnesses had saved enough money to defray the cost of his journey.[1]

Thus forsaken by almost all his friends, and every day more hated at the Imperial Court, the very name of Nestorius became a byword and a reproach, and continued to be such for many successive ages. His enemies grudged him the tranquillity he enjoyed in his cloister before the gates of Antioch; and the Roman bishop Celestine, so early as 432, called upon the Emperor to remove from society the man who had been condemned by the judgment of the whole Church, and who still persisted in his "blasphemous errors." He was, however, left unmolested until 435, when Cyril and John, in the prosecution of their unholy alliance, procured his banishment. The place of his exile was one of the oases of Egypt, probably the Great Oasis. After remaining there a while he was carried off by some Libyan barbarians, who how-

[1] Ibid., pp. 183–187; Robertson, i. pp. 454, 455; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, ii. p. 889.

ever had compassion upon him, set him at liberty, A.D. 435.
and warned him to seek a safer place of abode. He went to the town of Panapolis in the Thebais; but here the prefect, more barbarous than the barbarians, caused the aged bishop, now enfeebled by hardship, to be hurried about by his soldiers from place to place without pity. Of the manner in which he ended his days, no certain account has come down to us. During his exile he enjoyed sufficient composure of mind to write a history of the controversy in which he had been engaged. In this production, which he styled *Tragedy*, and of which only some few extracts have survived, he forcibly exposes the intrigues of Cyril, but speaks with more forbearance of those who had been the dupes of that bishop.[1]

The followers of Nestorius were numerous. Driven beyond the bounds of the Empire, their teachers sought a refuge in the school of Edessa, from whence their doctrines spread into Persia,[2] India, and Tartary, and even into the heart of northern China. They had churches also in Syria, Arabia, and Cyprus. At the present day they are found in the mountains of Kurdistan and the plain of Oroomiah on the confines of Persia and Armenia. Although ignorant, they are in many ways more simple and spiritual than the other Oriental Churches. They reject the use of images, the

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 187–190.

[2] Syriac was the ritual language of the Persian Church.

Per. II. Chap. 1.

worship of Mary as the mother of God, and the doctrine of purgatory. They do not practise auricular confession; and their priests mainly support themselves by labour. Both bishops and presbyters are permitted to marry. Their worship is more simple than that of the Greek Church, and they are more accessible to the message of the Gospel. They have been styled the Protestants of Asia.[1]

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 269–271; Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, pp. 364–411. See also the interesting chapter on the Chaldæan or Nestorian Church in Layard's *Nineveh*, i. pp. 240–268.

CHAPTER II.

The Nestorian Strife (*concluded*).

Section I. The banishment of Nestorius brought no relief to his followers. The same year a new Imperial edict appeared, ordaining that the Nestorians should for the future be called *Simonians*,[1] that all who should copy, preserve, or read the writings of Nestorius should be severely punished, and that all bishops who defended him should be deposed. All meetings of Nestorians for divine worship were forbidden. A military tribune was sent into the Antiochian diocese to enforce this law. But Theodoret and some others refused to stoop to any further concession.[2] A.D. 444.

In the midst of these conflicts death carried off Cyril from the scene of his restless strife, A.D. 444. But the spirit of Cyril survived in his successor. This was Dioscorus, a man of like ambition, of an irascible and boisterous temper, and a loose manner of life, who stuck at no means, however

[1] From Simon Magus; a common epithet of detestation for inveterate heretics:—"even," says the Edict, "as the Arians were styled Porphyrians by a law of Constantine of blessed memory." (See *Early Church History*, p. 553)—Robertson, i. p. 455.

[2] Neander, iv. p. 191.

Per. II. Chap. 2.

infamous, to attain his object. He inherited the aims as well as some of the traits of his predecessor, and laboured with equal zeal to make the doctrine of the one nature in Christ dominant, and to exalt the Alexandrian see above that of Constantinople. The Oriental Churches, led now by Theodoret, were the principal object of his attack; he had as allies within those Churches, a party of monks and clergy, the abbot Barsumas at their head, who had acted as spies to Cyril and creators of disturbance.[1]

At Constantinople there continued to be an influential body of abbots and monks, who, deficient in intellectual culture, and unable to apprehend any system but that which appealed to their feelings, naturally gravitated towards the Alexandrian doctrine, which in fact they carried to an extreme. "We hold fast to the Scriptures," so they were accustomed to say, "and these declare that the Word became flesh. In becoming flesh He assuredly underwent no change. He is the same; and this is the inexpressible wonder. God was born; God suffered; God has a body. The *how* is what no reason can explain. It is not for us to know more than Scripture reveals. All beyond is dangerous to faith."[2]

[1] Ibid., pp. 196–199. In regard to Cyril, it is due to say that some historians take a much more favourable view of his character and aims. See, for example, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Cyrillus, St., i. p. 763.

[2] Ibid., pp. 199, 200. They spoke of the Saviour's humanity as "absorbed in his Godhead, like a drop of honey in the ocean."—Robertson, i. p. 458.

The leader of this party was the abbot Eutyches,[1] and from him the new stage of the protracted contest has been called the Eutychian Controversy. This man had lived from youth to old age shut up in his cloister, which he had never quitted but once, namely, at the time of the Cyrillian Council at Ephesus, when he had come abroad in public to raise his voice against Nestorius. It was the writings of Theodoret which now again drew him out to oppose the "pernicious doctrines" of those, who, as he expressed it, divided the one and only

A.D. 444-448.

[1] "As Nestorius, teaching rightly that God and man are distinct natures, did thereupon misinfer that in Christ those natures can by no conjunction make one person; so Eutyches, of sound belief as teaching their true personal conjunction, became unsound by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other natures." —Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, b. v. c. 52. The same judicious writer thus sums up the four points which express the whole nature of Christ, with the corresponding heresies regarding them, and the councils at which they were condemned. "There are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of one from the other being joined into one. Four principal heresies there are, which have in these things withstood the truth: Arians, by bending themselves against the deity of Christ; Apollinarians, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; Nestorians, by rending Christ asunder, and dividing Him into two persons; the followers of Eutyches, by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most famous councils: the Council of Nicæa, to define against Arians; against Apollinarians, the Council of Constantinople; the Council of Ephesus, against Nestorians; against Eutychians, the Chalcedon Council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly;* the first applied to his being God, the second to his being man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his still continuing in that one Both; we may fully, by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the foresaid heresies."—Id., v. cc. 54, 10. Quoted in Lloyd's *North African Church*, pp. 322, 323.

Christ into two Sons of God. At the same time Theodoret in a fresh treatise challenged both Dioscorus and Eutyches, skilfully attacking the whole type of doctrine which they set forth, and making an able defence of the Antiochian theology. Dioscorus, instead of defending himself with the pen, accused him before the new patriarch of Antioch, Domnus—who had succeeded to that see on the death of his uncle John—of preaching two Sons of God. Theodoret saw the danger, and expressed his readiness to condemn such as refused to call Mary *Theotokos*. But this concession came too late. Dioscorus sent a memorial to the Emperor, accusing the whole Oriental Church of Nestorianism; and Theodoret received orders to keep quiet and not to leave his own diocese.[1]

At this juncture the scene suddenly shifted. Flavian, who in 446 succeeded Proclus as bishop of Constantinople, assembled two years later a local or *home* synod, as it was termed. In this assembly, Eutyches, whose crude theology was as hateful to many as that of his opponent Nestorius had been, was formally arraigned and excommunicated as a heretic. This rash act, committed in the face of the Emperor's displeasure, and in spite of the popularity and influence of the accused, was acquiesced in unwillingly by Flavian, who was carried away by the tide he could not stem. Eutyches and his party cried aloud for a general council.[2]

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 200–203.

[2] Ibid., pp. 204–211.

SECTION II. The "Second Council of Ephesus" was accordingly summoned in 449. It was never designed to be a free assembly of the Church; it was merely an instrument in the hands of Dioscorus, Eutyches and the Emperor, for the overthrow of Flavian, and, as Theodosius expressed it, "the extirpation of the devilish root of the Nestorian heresy." Dioscorus was nominated president. Flavian was to have no vote. In order to counterbalance the still dreaded influence of Theodoret and the Oriental bishops, a seat was given to the abbot Barsumas, as the representative of the orthodox archimandrites, who, in many places of the East, were in antagonism to their bishops. Lastly two counts of the Empire were included that they might wield the secular power in support of the dominant party. The Egyptian bishops who accompanied Dioscorus were men of a violent and fanatical spirit, and Barsumas was attended by a "thousand rabid monks and a troop of brawny hospital waiters," whose fierce shouts showed they were ready for strife and outrage. But the cause of injustice derived its greatest strength from the cowardice or covetousness of many of the bishops, who loved honour and office more than the truth. They professed Christ with the lips, but in act and spirit they denied Him. When a formal complaint was about to be brought against a bishop, accused of unchastity and other offences, Dioscorus dismissed the whole matter.

A.D. 448, 449.

Per. II. Chap. 2.

"If," said he, "you have a complaint against his orthodoxy, we shall receive it, but we have not come here to pass judgment on unchastity." They were, in fact, "for acting," remarks Theodoret, "as if Christ had given us a rule of *faith* merely, and not a rule of *practice*."[1]

The proceedings were violent and disorderly from the beginning: Dioscorus turned out all reporters but those of his own party. He opened the synod by declaring that the Council of Nicæa and the Council of Ephesus had established one and the same creed, which was unalterable. "Accursed then," he exclaimed, "be he who would unsettle again what was there determined!" In response to which the assembly shouted out: "On this depends the salvation of the world! God save the bishop Dioscorus, the great guardian of the faith!"[2]

"Eutyches laid before the council a written confession of faith, which having been read and approved, Flavian called upon Eusebius of Dorylæum to read and make good the charges he had preferred against Eutyches at the *home* synod. This was not allowed, and the acts of the synod were merely read over. No disturbance arose until the part taken by Eusebius in urging Eutyches to acknowledge two natures in Christ after the incarnation, came under review, and then all was

[1] Ibid., pp. 211, 214.

[2] Ibid.; Robertson, i. p. 463.

confusion and uproar." The Egyptian bishops and the whole throng of monks who accompanied Barsumas, exclaimed: "Divide asunder the man who speaks of two natures! He who speaks of two natures is a *Nestorius*." Eusebius attempted to explain, but was interrupted by cries of, "Burn Eusebius! let him be burned alive! As he has cut Christ asunder, so let *him* be cut asunder!" The president put the question: "Is the doctrine that there are two natures after the incarnation to be tolerated?" The answer was returned: "Anathema on him who so says!" "I have your voices," replied Dioscorus, "I must have your hands! He who cannot cry, let him lift up his hands!" All hands were raised, with the shout: "Expel, burn, tear, cut asunder, massacre—all who hold two natures!"[1] A.D. 449.

Dioscorus then demanded the condemnation of Eusebius and Flavian. The bishops now perceived that they had gone too far, and a number of them gathered round, imploring him on their knees not to proceed further. Disregarding their entreaties he exclaimed: "Call in the counts!" The proconsul of Asia entered, attended by soldiers and monks, with swords, clubs and chains. The bishops in terror attempted to hide themselves in corners of the church, or under the benches; they were dragged out, and with threats and blows com-

[1] Roberts, p. 300; Neander, iv. p. 215; Milman, i. p. 205; Robertson, i. p. 464.

pelled to sign a blank paper on which the condemnation of Flavian was to be written. It is said that Dioscorus and Barsumas struck the aged Flavian on the face, kicked him, and stamped on him, Barsumas shouting, "Strike him, strike him dead!" He was taken out of the council hall; and being dragged by the soldiers to Hypepe, a village at a short distance from the city, expired three days after.[1] Eusebius and Theodoret were deposed and the former imprisoned. The Roman legates offered a fruitless resistance to these barbarous and tyrannical acts.[2]

To this infamous assembly Leo of Rome, doubtless not uninfluenced by the treatment his own representatives had received, gave the expressive name of the *Robber Synod* (*Latrocinium*). "Terrible was the day on which it opened," writes the abbé Martin. "The true faith received in the East a shock from which it has never completely recovered since. The Church witnessed the separation from herself of nations which have never returned to her,

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[1] "From the anguish of stripes,
He passed away unto the Lord."
—Liberatus, quoted in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i. p. 858.

[2] Robertson, i. pp. 464, 465; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, ii. p. 532. Neander remarks that the bishops, in palliation afterwards of their own conduct, had strong inducements to exaggerate the violence used on this occasion, and that many contradictions may be detected in their testimony. "Still," he adds, "it is clear that force was resorted to in various ways; that the bishops were kept confined for a whole day in the church; that they were menaced by soldiers and monks till they had subscribed; and that blank papers were laid before them for their signature, which could afterwards be filled up with whatever the leaders chose."—*loc. cit.*

and perhaps never will."[1] It seems to us hardly credible that such a scene could ever be tolerated either by Church or Emperor. We see the literal fulfilment of Paul's prediction to the elders of this very city: "Grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock."[2] What were such synods but herds of wolves in disguise, holding high council as though they were the true shepherds? To what purpose is it that the Holy Ghost says: "The Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle towards all; correcting in meekness them that oppose themselves"?[3] A.D. 449.

So corrupt were the times that the very bishops who had taken part in the *home* synod of Constantinople under Flavian, hastened to give their adhesion to the decrees of the Robber Council. But this concession could not save the party. Many of the most worthy bishops of the East were deposed. By these acts Dioscorus succeeded at last in silencing, if he could not extinguish, the Oriental Church.[4]

The sagacious churchman who then filled the Roman chair, and of whom it has been said that he "possessed every virtue compatible with an unbounded ambition,"[5] had been no unconcerned

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[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, ii. p. 408.

[2] Acts xx. 29. [3] 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

[4] Neander, iv. pp. 216–218.

[5] Mosheim, i. p. 450, note. Milman says of Leo: "He was a Roman in sentiment as in birth. All that survived of Rome, of her unbounded ambition, her inflexible perseverance, her dignity in defeat, her haughtiness of language, her belief in her own eternity and in her indefeasible title to

Per. II. Chap. 2.

spectator of the Nestorian Controversy, he considered himself to be of right, as Peter's successor, the chief shepherd of the entire Church, and the hope of establishing universal dominion, no less than his own sound theological convictions, compelled him to interfere. His strong clear intellect perceived the importance of the question at issue, and two months before the Robber Council met, he had embodied his views in a letter or *Tome*, addressed to the Patriarch Flavian. This document, or one of similar import, was presented to the council, but Dioscorus always contrived to put off the reading of it. In this celebrated letter, the entireness and yet the distinctness of the two natures united in the Saviour, are defined with singular ability, and copiously illustrated. Leo demonstrates that the fundamental truth of Christianity is sacrificed quite as much by a curtailment of Christ's humanity as of his divinity. "The Faith," so he wrote, in words which have become famous, "by which the Catholic Church lives and progresses is, that neither his humanity exists without his true divinity, nor his divinity without his true humanity. A denial of his veritable human nature is a denial also of his corporeal passion; and the danger is equal of believing that our Lord Jesus Christ is either God alone without being

universal dominion, her respect for traditionary and written law, and for unchangeable custom, might seem concentred in him."—*Latin Christianity*, i. p. 180. Leo seems to have been almost free from the *superstition* of his age.—*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iii. p. 670.

man, or man only without being God. In the one nature He suffered death, but in the other He could not die."[1] A.D. 450–451.

SECTION III. After the Robber Council events concurred to favour Leo's interference. In 450 Theodosius died, and his sister Pulcheria, who had been the patroness of Flavian, united herself in marriage with Marcian, a soldier of fortune on whom she conferred the Imperial diadem. A complete change now came over the court religion. The exiled bishops were recalled; and many trimmed their sails anew to suit the change in the wind. Anatolius, the new bishop of Constantinople, was recognized by Leo only on the condition of subscribing his Letter and condemning Eutyches, as well as Nestorius.[2]

Both Leo and the Emperor were favourable to calling a new general council, as the best means of repairing the mischief done by the Robber Synod; but whilst Leo urged that the place of meeting should be in Italy, the Emperor decided on Nicæa. The assembly came together in 451.[3] Owing to the disturbances created by fanatical monks and others, the Emperor was induced to transfer it to Chalcedon.

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[1] Neander, iv. pp. 218, 219; Dörner, *Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (Clark), Div. ii. vol. i. p. 85.

[2] Neander, iv. pp. 221, 222.

[3] The number of bishops is variously reckoned at from 520 to 630. All were from the East except Leo's envoys and two African bishops.—Robertson, i. pp. 467, 468; Neander, iv. p. 224.

Per. II. Chap. 2.

The council met in the church of Euphemia the martyr. Evagrius the historian, who was conversant with the capital and its vicinity, describes the spot with the pen of an eye-witness: "You go up to the church by a gentle ascent, and from this commanding position, survey the plain beneath, verdant with herbage, corn, and every kind of tree. The eye takes in also a range of woody mountains, and rests on the sea where the dark blue waters play with a gentle ripple on the beach, or the surging waves in their recoil sweep back the shells and seaweed. Right opposite rises Constantinople in the charm of its vastness. The church of St. Euphemia consists of three immense buildings, one open to the sky with its courts surrounded with columns, another like it but roofed, the third circular and crowned with a dome, within which is a splendid shrine containing the sacred remains of the martyr, in a curiously wrought ark of silver."[1] Here the council was under the Emperor's own eye, and he deputed nineteen officers of state to attend it as his representatives. The Roman delegates and Anatolius sat as presidents of the clergy.[2]

Although the assembly was so numerous, and so august in its constitution, the irritation and mutual hatred of the two parties was apparent from the very outset. When Theodoret appeared

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[1] *Eccles. Hist.*, b. ii. c. 3.

[2] Robertson, *loc. cit.*

in the midst as the accuser of his former judges, A.D. 451. although he was welcomed by the Orientals with enthusiasm, the bishops of the Egyptian party raised a malignant cry: "Cast forth the Jew, the enemy of God, the blasphemer of Christ!" Notwithstanding, however, this burst of fanaticism, fear, court favour, and the change in religious fashion soon showed their effects. The Palestinian bishops left the seats which they had at first occupied near the Egyptians, and removed to the opposite side where the Orientals and the Roman delegates were seated. Others followed their example, until at last Dioscorus was left with only thirteen Egyptian bishops to support him. But the sense of shame was not entirely wanting. When the question arose of deposing those bishops who had taken the lead in the late council, the assembly resounded with the cry: "We have all sinned, we all ask forgiveness." Many with an ill grace excused their past conduct on the ground of Imperial authority and constraint. Even the commissioners declared such an excuse in matters of faith to be inadmissible, and Dioscorus stigmatized it as a confession of guilt. The courage of the Alexandrian bishop never forsook him. He made an able and spirited defence,[1] and had even the

[1] Dioscorus acknowledged Christ to be "*of* two natures," but declined to use the form "*in* two natures," thus refusing to own that the difference of natures subsisted after the incarnation. This distinction between "*in*" and "*of*" became a Shibboleth in the Church.

Per. II. Chap. 2.

audacity to excommunicate Leo. The sentence of the synod, which was signed by about 300 bishops, condemned him to degradation from his episcopal and priestly rank: it was confirmed by the Emperor, who added to it that of exile. Dioscorus ended his days at Gangra in Paphlagonia, A.D. 454.[1]

Leo's letter to Flavian, already noticed, was read at the Council of Chalcedon. When the Roman delegates proposed that it should be adopted as an authoritative creed, some murmurs were at first heard; but when it was threatened to hold a council at Rome, the objectors gave way, and shouts of approval burst from all sides: "This is the belief of the Fathers, of the Apostles! Thus do we all believe! Accursed be he who denies that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo!"[2]

We subjoin the symbol or creed adopted by the council, which was succeeded by the usual presumptuous anathema against all who should presume to teach otherwise: "Following the holy Fathers, we unanimously teach one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, complete as to his Godhead, and complete as to his manhood; truly God, and truly man, of a reasonable soul and

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[1] Neander, iv. pp. 224–229; Robertson, i. pp. 469–471.

[2] Neander, iv. pp. 226, 227; Milman, i. p. 208. A legend grew up respecting this letter. It was said that when the pope had written it, he laid it on the Apostle Peter's altar, praying that if there were anything erroneous in it, it might be corrected. At the end of three days he found the letter marked with sundry erasures and emendations, which he accepted as the work of the Apostle.—Robertson, i. p. 463, note.

human flesh subsisting; consubstantial with the Father as to his Godhead, and consubstantial also with us as to his manhood; like unto us in all things, yet without sin: as to his Godhead begotten of the Father before all worlds, but as to his manhood, in these last days born for us men and for our salvation of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God (*Theotokos*); one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in (or of)[1] two natures, without confusion, without conversion, without severance, and without division; the distinction of the natures being in no wise taken away by their union, but the property of each nature being maintained, and both concurring in one person and substance (*hypostasis*). We confess not a Son divided and sundered into two persons, but one and the same Son, and Only-begotten, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets had before proclaimed concerning Him, and He himself hath taught us, and the symbol of the fathers hath handed down to us."[2] A.D. 451.

Although the Egyptian party had submitted, their hatred towards the Orientals was in no degree appeased. In the eighth session of the council the case of Theodoret came up for consideration, and he was set upon vociferously, and urged to anathematize Nestorius, his doctrines,

[1] The reading is uncertain—Schaff, p. 745, note.

[2] Id., pp. 744–746.

Per. II. Chap. 2.

and his friends. The theological opinions of Theodoret appear to have undergone a change,[1] and he had come to the council prepared to make large concessions. "Truly," he said, "it is not for the sake of my bishopric that I have come here, but to prove myself an orthodox man, to show you that I condemn Nestorius and Eutyches and every one who speaks of two Sons of God." This was not enough for his implacable adversaries, who interrupted him with repeated cries: "Say, Anathema to Nestorius and to all who think with him." He attempted to justify himself: "I cannot utter that anathema, but I believe"——. Here he was again interrupted: "He is a heretic, a Nestorian, cast out the Nestorian!" Wearied with the strife, and overborne by clamour, he at length gave way, and repeated the formula: "Anathema to Nestorius, and to every one who refuses to call Mary the mother of God, and who divides in two the Only-begotten Son." Upon this he was considered to have given sufficient proof of his orthodoxy, and at the instance of the Imperial commissioners he was restored to his Church by acclamation. It is uncertain whether Theodoret returned to his see, or spent the remainder of his days in his monastery,

[1] In one of his latest works, his *Account of Heresies*, he speaks of Nestorius as "an instrument of Satan," and as having under the pretext of orthodoxy denied both the divinity and the incarnation of the Only-begotten Son.—Neander, iv. p. 230, note.

devoting himself to literary labour. He died A.D. 458.[1] A.D. 451–458.

Theodoret's is a sad history. He was possessed of a broad, unselfish, and independent spirit, but the times in which he lived were too hard and stormy for his faith. With Nestorius and John of Antioch, he was brought up in a Syrian monastery, where he is said to have been placed at the age of seven, and to have sat at the feet of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Chrysostom. In 423 he was pressed into the episcopal office, and sent to govern the Church of Cyrus on the Euphrates, with its 800 villages. Here he set himself with extraordinary success to the conversion of heretics, and was distinguished for his skill in refuting the arguments of Jews and pagans. In one of his letters he enters, like Paul, into a forced commendation of himself: "I have never prosecuted, or been prosecuted at law; and I can say the same of all the pious clergy in my diocese. Neither I nor my servants ever received a gift, not so much as a loaf or an egg. Long ago I gave my patrimony to the poor; and now I possess neither house, land, nor money, not even a sepulchre in which

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 229, 230; see Robertson, i. p. 473, note. Whilst theological storms were thus agitating the Church, the world without was convulsed by a tempest of a different kind. Attila the Hun, "the scourge of God," was devastating the countries both of the East and the West. From 445 to 450, he ravaged the Empire from the Euxine to the Adriatic, after which he continued his march into Gaul, where, in 451, at Châlons, he was defeated by Aëtius and Theodoric. He died in 453.

Per. II. Chap. 2.

to lay my bones. Out of my episcopal revenues I have erected porticoes, built bridges, and repaired the public baths. I found the city without water, and have constructed an aqueduct by which it is plentifully supplied." When Theodoret was deposed by the Robber Synod, he wrote: "The hardships we undergo for the sake of the divine doctrines are welcome. It cannot be otherwise if we truly believe in the promise that 'the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us-ward.' But why should I speak of *future* blessings? Even though no reward were bestowed on the combatants, yet the Truth itself alone is enough to move its friends to encounter with all joy every danger in its behalf." Although an intense admirer of the ascetic life, and accepting the miracles of the desert with as great an avidity as Athanasius or Jerome, he had yet a profound reverence for truth and reason. "Blind faith," he writes, "is the source of all the evils and errors of the Church. Of all heresies the most dangerous is that, which in our days lifts its head so high, and with equal absurdity and injustice, exacts that man should abandon his own intelligence and receive his religion without examination, thus preventing him from ever arriving at a living and constant faith." [1]

[1] Du Pin, iv. p. 55; Life of Theodoret, prefixed to his *History*, Bohn, p. 2; Roberts, *Church Memorials*, pp. 178, 179; Neander, iv. p. 217, note.

A.D. 451–458.

The acts of the Council of Chalcedon were ill-adapted to secure the object it had in view, namely, the union of the two parties. The defects and contradictions which were brought to light; the substitution of one formula of belief for another; the mischievous influence of the Court: all this was fatal to the authority of its decisions.[1]

The prominence given in the council to the doctrine of "one nature" marks indeed only a fresh epoch in the dreary theological war, which now enters upon its third and last stage, under the name of the Monophysite Controversy. This word Monophysite (*One Nature*) became a war cry with the wild and untutored monks of Egypt and Palestine, who showed little mercy to such as differed from them. We do not propose to pursue further the history of the dispute. Were we to do so we should see adventurous monks climbing to the highest places by the ladder of fanaticism; provinces wasted with fire and sword; one Emperor vowing to make the Monophysite doctrine universal in the East; the next eagerly espousing the opposite cause; a third in danger of losing his crown because he favoured a proposed addition to a Church hymn.[2] But of reason or

[1] Ibid., pp. 231, 232.

[2] Out of the Monophysite heresy was evolved the *Monothelite* (*of one will*) in which the metaphysical point was drawn out to such a fineness as to be invisible. Mosheim says: "They admitted two wills in Christ [the divine

piety, of love to God or charity to man, of the true witnessing for Christ, we should find next to nothing. Never was the Apostle's injunction to Timothy, and through him to all these bishops, —whether Alexandrian, Antiochian, Nestorian, Eutychian, or Monophysite—more needed or less regarded: "Charging them in the sight of the Lord, that they strive not about words, to no profit, to the subverting of them that hear."[1]

A few straggling rays of light, specimens let us hope of many more now lost in oblivion, illumined this long age of darkness. One is the character of Timotheus Salophaciolus,[2] patriarch of Alexandria in the year 460, and again in 477. This man, by his gentleness and moderation, secured on two occasions to that distracted city an interval of tranquillity in the midst of perpetual disturbance. Himself a Duophysite (defender of the *two natures*), he protected instead of persecuting the Monophysite party, and although admonished by the Emperor Basiliscus to use

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and the human], both active and operative, and yet maintained that, in a certain sense, there is in Him but one will and one operation of will." This phase of theology arose during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (A.D. 610–641), and divided the Eastern Church for fifty years. It was condemned by the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 630), called the Sixth Œcumenical Council.—*Eccles. Hist.*, ii. pp. 102–108.

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 14. The external Church was during this period maintained on a magnificent scale. The cathedral of Constantinople, under the Emperor Justinian, was served by 60 presbyters, 100 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 90 sub-deacons, 110 lectors, 25 precentors, and 100 janitors—a total of 525 officers.—Schaff, p. 259.

[2] *Sallow-faced.*

greater severity towards the heretics, he was not to be turned aside from his course of rectitude. In consequence he was esteemed by all parties, the Monophysites calling to him in the streets: "Although we have no Church fellowship with thee yet we love thee." [1] A.D. 460-544.

Another gleam of brightness is found in the resistance of a North African bishop to the arbitrary will of Justinian. In 544 that Emperor published the edict of *The Three Chapters*, in which the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret, the survivor of whom had been dead a century, were condemned.[2] The edict was sent through the whole Empire to receive the signatures of the bishops. Justinian's great general, Belisarius, had just recovered North Africa from the Vandals, and the Church in that desolated province had begun again to show signs of life. The bishop Facundus of Hermiana possessed a temper rare in those days. Having first thoroughly investigated the doctrinal questions in dispute, and come to a decision upon them, he abode by the result with unshaken constancy. He wrote a treatise eminently characterised by freedom of spirit and disregard of the fear of man, as well as by a candid and searching criticism. In this tract he protested against the unwarrantable dogmatism which had wrought so

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 234–237.

[2] The writings of the former were so effectually destroyed that only some titles and fragments have come down to us.—Du Pin, iii. p. 64.

Per. II. Chap. 2.

much mischief in the Greek Church. "Whilst," he says, "in other arts no one presumes to pass judgment on what he has never learned, in matters of theology those who have learned the least are most arrogant and peremptory in their judgments. When the civil power oversteps its office, it may indeed ruin men by betraying them to deny the truth with their lips, but it can never effect the object it has in view, for it cannot instil into their minds other convictions than they possess; it can act only on what is external; it cannot reach the soul." Of the bishops who excused their compliance by the constraint of secular power, he spoke with scorn. "As if we have been ordained bishops for no other purpose than to be enriched by the gifts of princes, and to sit among the high dignitaries of the State. And as if, when by the cares of government and the arts of the wicked, the prince has admitted anything which tends to injure the Church or disturb its peace, it were not our duty to set before him the truth for his own good, and if necessary to resist him with our Christian authority, and patiently endure his displeasure." [1]

The controversy held on its withering course throughout the fifth and the greater part of the sixth century, branching out into further dispute on the doctrines of Origen, and the edict of *The*

[1] Neander, iv. pp. 254, 255, 259, 260. To these instances may be added the enlightened testimony borne by John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Constantinople, in which he shows clearly that Slavery is abhorrent to the Gospel.—See below, Period III. Chap. 1, *Gregory the Great.*

Three Chapters. After the year 565, when death delivered the Church from that great legislator and self-deluded theologian Justinian, the Monophysites, like the Nestorians, became a separate sect outside the limits of the Church general; and thus they have continued to the present day. Their descendants are yet found in Syria, Armenia, Assyria, Egypt and Abyssinia. "They have," says Schaff, "long since fallen into stagnation, ignorance and superstition, and are to Christendom as a praying corpse to a living man;" "isolated fragments," he styles them, "of ancient Church history, curious petrifactions from the Christological battle-fields of the fifth and sixth centuries." [1] V.–VI. Cent.

But if the long controversy, of which Monophysitism was the concluding act, was barren of good, it was abundantly fruitful of evil. Schism, hatred, bloodshed, the bitterest intolerance, the substitution of words for deeds, of formal orthodoxy for practical piety, broke down what yet remained of vigour and life in the once flourishing Churches of the East, and left them, in the succeeding century, an easy prey to the Mohammedan conquerors. When the challenge came they surrendered their liberty, often their faith, with an alacrity which else would have been incredible; and even where they resisted, it was with the warrior's sword, not with the spirit of ancient martyrdom.

[1] *Nicene Christianity*, p. 773.

CHAPTER III.

Christian Art in Ravenna.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

Section I. Whilst the Church was thus torn by internal contest on questions of doctrine, the art of the Church was steadily developing in conformity with the growing elaboration of her ritual and the splendour of her priesthood. There was one Italian city which signalised itself beyond all others by the beauty and variety of the works which were there executed during this period.

This was the ancient town of Ravenna, on the Adriatic. It owed its historical importance to the Emperor Augustus, whose eagle eye descried in its situation a safe and ample haven for the Roman navy. He constructed a capacious harbour, with arsenals, magazines, and barracks, to which he gave the name of Classis (the Fleet). The intermediate space between the harbour and the old town was soon filled with buildings, and received the name of Cæsarea. When the three places had so increased as to become one united and populous city, the whole was surrounded by a wall with strong fortifications. "The waters of the Po were led round the city in deep ditches,

and through it in a wide canal reaching to the harbour, whilst a network of subordinate canals divided the city into many small islands. As in Venice, communication was maintained by boats and bridges, and the houses were raised on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country was a deep and impassable morass, interspersed with vineyards."[1] V. Cent.

All efforts of engineering skill were unable to arrest the retreat of the sea, whose waves continually threw up a wide bank of sand, besides the alluvial soil brought down by the river. "As early as the fifth or sixth century the port of Augustus had been converted into orchards, and a grove of pine trees covered the ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor." But with the loss of its harbour, the city did not lose its importance. The natural strength of the place was increased rather than diminished, as it was thus removed beyond the reach of hostile ships of war. Early in the fifth century, its impregnable position caused it to be selected by the feeble princes who still bore the name of Emperors of the West, as a city of refuge from the Gothic invaders; and from this time until the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna, not Rome, was virtually the capital of Italy. From the year 752, when it was taken by the Lombards, it

[1] Gibbon, iv. p. 27.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

ceased to be of political importance, and fell into decay. Classis wholly disappeared; Cæsarea is at this day represented only by a village; and the inhabitants of the shrunken town of Ravenna are now five miles distant from the sea.[1]

We have spoken of the Pine Grove (*Pinetum*). By degrees this grand natural ornament extended itself far beyond the limits of the ancient harbour. Dante sings:—

> "Along the piny forests on the shore
> Of Chiassi, rolls the gathering melody,
> When Eolus hath from his cavern loosed
> The dripping south."[2]

A recent traveller thus describes its modern aspect: "The Pinetum stretches along the shore of the Adriatic for about forty miles, forming a belt of variable width between the great marsh and the sea. . . . It is hardly possible to imagine a more beautiful and impressive scene than that presented by these long alleys of imperial pines.[3] Their tops are evergreen, and laden with the heavy cones from which Ravenna draws considerable wealth. . . . The spaces of this great forest form the haunt of innumerable living creatures. Lizards run about by myriads in the grass, doves coo among the branches of the pines, and nightingales pour their full-throated music all day and

[1] Ibid. pp. 28, 29.

[2] Purgatory, xxviii. 20–23.—Cary. Chiassi is Classis.

[3] A scene in the Pinetum, sketched on the spot by Edward Backhouse, forms the frontispiece to this volume.

night from thickets of whitethorn and acacia. V. Cent.
The air is sweet with aromatic scents. The resin of the pine and juniper, the may-flowers and acacia blossoms, the violets that spring by thousands in the moss, the wild roses and faint honeysuckle which throw fragrant arms from bough to bough of ash or maple, join to make one most delicious perfume. And though the air upon the neighbouring marsh is poisonous, here it is dry, and spreads a genial health."[1]

"Between the Bosco, as the people of Ravenna call this pine wood, and the city, the marsh stretches for a distance of about three miles. It is a plain intersected by dykes and ditches, and mapped out into innumerable rice-fields. For more than half a year it lies under water, and during the other months exhales a pestilential vapour, which renders it as uninhabitable as the Roman Campagna; yet in spring-time this dreary flat is even beautiful."[2]

"Of the once famous city of Classis," continues Mr. Symonds, "not a vestige remains, not a dwell-

[1] *Sketches in Italy and Greece*, by J. A. Symonds, 1874, pp. 260, *seqq.* "Since this writer was there, a grievous change has come over the Pinetum. The unusual frosts of 1880 and 1881 were very destructive to it; the oldest and largest trees are in a lamentable condition, and it is to be feared the forest will never recover its former grandeur."—T. Hodgkin. Another recent traveller says: "The part of the forest nearest to Ravenna is now converted for several miles into rice-swamps; another portion consists of underwood dotted with the stumps of the dead pines. Not until you have travelled twelve or more miles from the city, is there any approach to its old grandeur and beauty."—D. Hack.

[2] Symonds, p. 239.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

ing or a ruined tower, nothing but the ancient church of St. Apollinare in Classe. Of all desolate buildings this is the most desolate. Its bare round campanile gazes at the sky, which here vaults only sea and plain—a perfect dome, star-spangled, like the roof of Galla Placidia's tomb. Ravenna lies low to west, the pine wood stretches away in long monotony to east. There is nothing else to be seen except the spreading marsh, bounded by dim snowy Alps and purple Apennines, so very far away that the level rack of summer clouds seems more attainable and real. . . . One old monk tends this deserted spot. He has the huge church with its echoing aisles and marble columns and giddy bell-tower and cloistered corridors all to himself. At rare intervals, priests from Ravenna come to sing some special mass at these cold altars; pious folks make vows to pray upon their mouldy steps, and kiss the relics which are shown on great occasions. But no one stays; they hurry, after muttering their prayers, from the fever-stricken spot; and the old monk is left alone to sweep the marsh-water from his church-floor, and to keep the green moss from growing too thickly on its monuments. A clammy *conferva* covers everything except the mosaics upon tribune, roof, and clerestory, which defy the course of age. . . . The poor old guardian told us it was a weary life. He has had the fever three times, and does not hope to survive many more Septembers. The very

Marble Sarcophagus, in the Church of S. Lorenzo, Milan; supposed to be the tomb of Ataulfus, husband of Galla Placidia.

From an original drawing by Edward Backhouse.

water that he drinks is brought him from Ravenna; for the vast fen, though it pours its overflow upon the church-floor, and spreads like a lake around, is death to drink."[1] A.D. 402–423.

It was in the year 402 that the pusillanimous Honorius, terrified at the danger to which he had been exposed in his defenceless palace at Milan from the army of Alaric, fled to Ravenna, and there set up the Imperial court. Here he died A.D. 423. He was a prince with scarcely a trace of the spirit and dignity which befitted a son of the great Theodosius, and his name is eclipsed by that of his sister, Galla Placidia, whom on the occasion of his flight he left behind in Rome. When that city was taken by the Goths she was among the captives, and after being detained four years in honourable durance, was married to Ataulfus, brother-in-law and successor to Alaric. On her husband's death she was ransomed by Honorius at the price of 600,000 measures of wheat. In 417 she accepted the hand of Constantius, a distinguished Roman general, who died in 421; and two years afterwards she retired to the court of her nephew Theodosius II. at Constantinople. The year following, however, the latter sent her back to Ravenna, with her son Valentinian III., a boy of six years, to assume the reins of government in the West. For twenty-five years, first as

[1] Ibid.

regent, and afterwards as chief adviser to Valentinian, Galla Placidia ruled over the Western Empire, or rather over such portions of the ancient dominion as still remained faithful to the Roman name; for Britain, Gaul, and Spain were lost already, and she had the grief to see the rich and populous province of Africa become the possession of the Vandals. The Christianity of the Empress was of the strictly orthodox type. She persecuted the Jews and heretics. It was in her reign that those basilicas or churches began to be erected in Ravenna, the beauty of which, and especially of the mosaics with which they were adorned, still excites the admiration of the world. She died at Rome in 450, aged about sixty years. Four years later Valentinian died. After him nine puppets in diadem and purple pass across the stage within the space of twenty years. The last, Romulus Augustulus, was put down by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who ruled Italy until the invasion of the Ostrogoths under Theodoric the Great, A.D. 489. In 490, after a succession of defeats, Odoacer took refuge in Ravenna, where at the end of three years he was murdered in his palace, and the city surrendered.[1]

The reign of Theodoric the Goth was beneficent and prosperous, and gave time to the distracted country to breathe again after her long years of

[1] Gibbon, iv. pp. 28, 126, 205; Hare, *Cities of Italy*, ii. pp. 304, 305; Hodgkin, i. pp. 420, 425, 427, 432.

agony. Ennodius calls him a "pattern of a perfect king for moderation, temperance, chastity, and sacerdotal modesty."[1] "The serene impartiality of Theodoric's government in religious affairs," says a modern writer, "extorts the praise of the most zealous Catholic. Himself an Arian, he attempted nothing against the Catholic faith.[2] He kept aloof from religious dissensions, devoting himself to maintaining the peace, securing the welfare, promoting the civilization and lightening the financial burdens of his people. But in the last year of his reign the bigotry of his Catholic subjects (chiefly shown in their persecution of the Jews), and of Justin Emperor of the East (who attempted to coerce the Arians into Catholicism), drove him into intolerance." He sent the Roman bishop John I. on an embassy to Justin, and when that prelate returned, threw him into prison, where he died. A still darker blot on his otherwise fair fame was his treatment of the philosopher Boëthius, whom he caused to be imprisoned at Pavia on a charge of treason, and eventually to be put to death in his cell.[3]

A.D. 423–526.

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[1] "He reigned thirty-three years, and during thirty of those years so great was the happiness attained by Italy that even the wayfarers were at peace."—Id., iii. pp. 290, 291.

[2] During his reign six great Arian and several Catholic churches were erected. His watchword was: "We cannot impose a religion by command, because no one can be compelled to believe against his will."—Scott's *Ulfilas*, p. 170.

[3] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 150, 151; Hare, *Cities of Italy*, ii. p. 331; Hodgkin, iii. pp. 515, 551, 552. Boëthius' great work, composed

Per. II. Chap. 3.

Theodoric died in 526, and was succeeded by his daughter Amalasuntha. Theodatus followed; and then Vitiges, who was besieged in Ravenna, and overthrown, A.D. 539, by Belisarius, the general of Justinian, Emperor of the East. Under Justinian, Narses was appointed to the command of Italy with the title of Exarch of Ravenna. The Exarchate lasted till 751, when Astaulfus, king of the Lombards, took Ravenna, and attempted to seize Rome also. This brought to the rescue Pepin king of the Franks, who overthrew Astaulfus, and gave Ravenna to the Popes as a temporal possession. This was the origin of the territorial possessions of the Roman Pontiff.

SECTION II. The churches of Ravenna and the mosaics with which they are embellished form a collection of early Christian Art which stands alone amongst the monuments of Europe. "It is well," says Freeman, "that there should be one spot from which the monuments of heathen Rome and mediæval Christendom are alike absent, and where every relic breathes of the strange and almost forgotten time which comes between the

in prison, was his *Consolation of Philosophy*, founded on Plato. In this treatise he evinces a firm belief in a Divine Ruler of the Universe, asserts the efficacy of prayer, and inculcates the lessons of resignation and hope; but although it is evident that light from the New Testament shone on his pages, the prize at which he aims is not the crown of life of the Christian, but the *summum bonum* of the Greek philosopher. He has been styled the last of the Romans. He died A.D. 520–524.—*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i. p. 320. Our King Alfred translated his work into Anglo-Saxon.

two." The art and the artists came alike from the East, and their work has been described as "more Byzantine than Constantinople itself;" and although it belongs to successive dominations so dissimilar as those of the declining Empire, the great Ostrogoth, and the Exarchate, yet the same design and the same workmanship extend unbroken throughout for 250 years.[1] V.–VI. Cent.

Of the most ancient of the Ravenna churches, the Cathedral, built by bishop Ursus in the fourth century, nothing original remains, save only the round campanile and the crypt. Close beside it is the Baptistery, or church of S. Giovanni in Fonte, repaired in 451 by bishop Neo. It is a small "octagonal building, surrounded by two tiers of arches, with columns of various sizes and orders, probably collected from pagan edifices. In the midst is the eight-sided baptismal font of porphyry and white marble, with an ambo for the officiating priest."[2]

Some years older than the Baptistery, and erected during the regency of Galla Placidia, are several churches, of which that of SS. Nazaro and Celso, better known as the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, need alone be here mentioned. To the same period belongs also the archbishop's palace, containing the

[1] Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches*, p. 39; Symonds, pp. 262, 263.

[2] Hare, ii. pp. 318–320; Murray, *Handbook for North Italy*. See the chromo-lithograph, vol. i. p. 373.

chapel built by Peter Chrysologus (439 to 450), quite unaltered. Here, amongst many saintly figures, are the Perpetua and Felicitas which were represented in our former volume.[1]

We come next to the group of churches erected during the dominion of the Goths. They show no further divergence from the original type than the substitution of Arian for Catholic crosses. That which is now called S. Apollinare Nuovo was erected by Theodoric about A.D. 500, as the cathedral of the Arians. Twenty-four of its marble columns were brought from Constantinople. Its present name was not given till the ninth century, when the relics of St. Apollinaris were transferred hither from Classis. S. Maria in Cosmedin was originally an Arian baptistery; Arian crosses are built into the walls.[2]

To this period also, as is generally supposed, belongs the palace of Theodoric, the remains of which are represented in the woodcut opposite.[3] Many of its columns and other treasures of art were removed by Charles the Great (Charlemagne)

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[1] Hare, ii. p. 316; Baedeker, *Handbook, North Italy; Early Church History*, frontispiece, and plate facing p. 255. These two martyrs appear also in the grand procession in S. Apollinare Nuovo.—See below.

[2] Hare, ii. p. 327; Baedeker, *North Italy.*

[3] "Whether," says Dr. Freeman, "the existing building can claim to have really been the dwelling-place of the great Goth, has been strongly called in question; and we are inclined to attribute it to the days of Lombard rather than of Gothic rule. The works of Theodoric are Roman; this palace is not Roman, but Romanesque, though undoubtedly a very early form of Romanesque."—*Historical and Architectural Sketches*, p. 47.

to Aix-la-Chapelle and Ingelheim, where some of them are still to be seen. Half a mile beyond the city walls is the mausoleum of Theodoric. V.–VI. Cent.

Theodoric's Palace, Ravenna.

The third period commences with Justinian, when Orthodoxy resumed her sway. Its two chief ornaments are the churches of S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe. The former is contemporaneous with and strongly resembles the great church of St. Sophia in Constantinople.[1] S. Apollinare in Classe, the desolate church in the marsh, of which we have spoken above, was erected about

[1] Charlemagne took the church of S. Vitale for the model of his cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

A.D. 534, and restored 1779.[1] It is the most imposing in appearance of all the existing churches, and is remarkable internally for its broad aisles, free from chapels or interruption of any sort, save the rows of sarcophagi containing the bones of the early bishops.[2]

The special glory of Ravenna is the unique series of mosaics which still exist in these ancient churches.[3] We will briefly notice them in the order of time.

In the cupola of the Baptistery the chief figures are those of the twelve Apostles, of colossal size, with the Baptism of Christ in the centre. "The Apostles stand upon a green base representing the earth, with a blue background, under a white, gold-decorated drapery. Their robes are of gold stuff, and as they step along in easy dignified measure, bearing crowns in their hands, they form a striking contrast to the stiff immobility of later mosaics. The heads, like most of those in the

[1] This was an abbey church; and part of the conventual buildings still remain.—Freeman, pp. 50, 51.

[2] Hare, ii. pp. 338, 341; Baedeker. There were very many other churches in the city, especially at Classis, which have entirely perished.—Hodgkin, i. p. 473.

[3] The materials of mosaic work are small cubes or tesseræ of different substances and various colours. At first coloured marbles, stones, fragments of brick, tile, and the like were used. Afterwards pastes of glass, coloured artificially, were substituted; composed of minute portions of silex and alumina, vitrified by heat, and coloured by the metallic oxides. The gilt tesseræ, used so profusely for the background of the pictures, were made by applying two thin plates of glass with a film of gold-leaf between, to a cube of earthenware, and then vitrifying the whole in a furnace.—*Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, art. Mosaics.

Catacomb pictures, are somewhat small, livingly individual, and even of that late Roman character of ugliness which is so observable in portraits of the time." [1] V.–VI. Cent.

The mausoleum of Galla Placidia is thus described by Thomas Hodgkin: "It is a little building, shaped like a Latin cross, equal-armed, measuring about forty feet both ways. At the centre of the cross you see above you a dome covered with mosaics. On a deep blue ground are scattered golden stars, and in the zenith is a jewelled cross. In the arches immediately below the dome stand eight prophets, two on each side of the square chapel. Below these again, other arches more deeply recessed; in one of them the Good Shepherd, lifting his cross on high, sits surrounded by his sheep; in another, Christ, wielding his cross like a sword, and with something in his form and attitude reminding one of the description in the first chapter of the Apocalypse, stands with an open book, probably the Gospel of St. Mark, in his hand; at a little distance off, an opened bookcase discloses the other three Gospels; between Him and them is a great brazier in which heretical books, perhaps those of the Nestorians, are said to be burning, the flames and the smoke being very vividly rendered. In each of the side arches corresponding to these, two stags, surmounted and surrounded with strange arabesques, are pressing

[1] Kügler, in Hare, ii. p. 319.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

through their intricacies to drink at a pool in the forest. All this picture work is, of course, mosaic. Below, on the floor of the chapel, stand three massive sarcophagi of Greek marble. In that on the left repose the remains of Valentinian the Third and Constantius, the son and the husband of Placidia. . . . The mighty sarcophagus on the right contains all that earth is still cumbered with of Honorius. At the end of the mausoleum, immediately behind the altar, stands the largest of all, containing the ashes of Galla Placidia. For eleven centuries the embalmed body of the Augusta remained undisturbed in this tomb, sitting upright in a chair of cypress wood, and arrayed in royal robes. It was one of the sights of Ravenna to peep through a little hole in the back and see this changeless queen. But, unhappily, three hundred years ago some careless or mischievous children, determined to have a thoroughly good look at the stately lady, thrust a lighted taper through the hole. Crowding and pushing, and each one bent on getting the best view possible, they at length brought the light too near to the corpse; at once, royal robes and royal flesh and cypress wood chair were all wrapped in flames. In a few minutes the work of cremation was accomplished, and the daughter of Theodosius was reduced to ashes as effectually as any daughter of the pagan Cæsars."[1]

[1] Hodgkin, i. pp. 469–471. The chromo-lithograph on the opposite

Marble Tomb of the Empress Galla Placidia, Ravenna.

From an original drawing by Edward Backhouse.

The mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo were added after the Arian period: "they are as a whole more impressive than any others in the world. Although the principal portions have been restored, the upper walls of the central aisle still sparkle from the arches to the roof with their original and very rich decorations. Two prodigious friezes contain long processions upon a gold ground. On the right the martyrs in light coloured garments, with crowns in their hands, are advancing in slow movement out of the city of Ravenna, here signified by the palace of the Ostrogothic kings. Through the entrance gate a gold ground shines forth as symbol of dominion; on the walls are the female forms of Victory. At the end of the procession, and as the goal of it, appears Christ upon a throne, the four archangels around Him. On the left side of the church (that which was occupied by the women), we perceive a similar procession of female martyrs and confessors, advancing from the suburb of Classis, recognized by its harbours and fortifications. At the head of the procession is the Adoration of the Three Kings. Upon a throne surmounted by four beautiful angels, appears the Madonna, here perhaps for the first time represented as an object of worship. She has a veil on her head which is encircled by

V.–VI. Cent.

page represents the sarcophagus. These tombs present the only instance in which the ashes of the Cæsars, Western or Oriental, rest in the place where they were first interred.—Hare, ii. p. 304.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

the nimbus. Upon her lap is seated the Child, like herself, in act of benediction." [1]

The church of S. Vitale, "externally a mass of rugged brick, yet a masterpiece of Byzantine architecture," contains the celebrated mosaics of Justinian and Theodora, "still almost as fresh as when they were first executed." The scene is the foundation and consecration of the church, with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. "In the semi-dome of the apsis appears a youthful Christ seated upon the globe of the world; on each side two angels with S. Vitalis as patron of the church, and bishop Ecclesius, the latter as founder, carrying a model of the building. On the perpendicular wall of the apsis are two groups of figures, of the size of life, on a gold ground. On the right hand is the Emperor Justinian, in diadem and purple mantle embroidered with gold, and fastened with a monstrous fibula; his hands full of costly gifts. His haughty, bloated, vulgar, yet regular countenance, with the eyebrows elevated towards the temple, is seen in front. To him succeed a number of courtiers, doubtless also portraits, and next to them the fair Germanic bodyguard with sword and shield. Archbishop Maximian with his clergy is advancing to meet the Emperor. He, also, with his bald head and the pathetic half-closed slits of eyes, is a characteristic portrait of the time. Opposite, on

[1] Kügler, in Hare, ii. p. 328.

Justinian and Theodora.

Drawn by Edward Backhouse after the Mosaics in the Church of S. Vitale Ravenna; etched by W. B. Scott.

the left hand, is the Empress Theodora, surrounded by the gorgeously attired ladies and eunuchs of the court, in the act of entering the church. The Empress is also clad in the dark violet (purple) Imperial mantle, and from her grotesque diadem hangs a whole cascade of beads and jewels, enclosing a narrow, pale, highly significant face, in whose large hollow eyes and small sensual mouth the whole history of that clever, imperious, voluptuous and merciless woman is written. A chamberlain before her is drawing back a richly embroidered curtain, so as to exhibit the entrance court of a church, betokened as such by its cleansing fountain. Justinian and Theodora are distinguished by bright nimbuses."[1]

"Of somewhat inferior execution are the mosaics of the lofty quadrangular space before the apsis, representing the Old Testament symbols [as they were conceived to be] of the sacrifice of the mass." Here we see the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem constructed entirely of jewels. On either side-wall are Abraham and Sarah with the three angels in white robes; the offering of Isaac; Abel sacrificing the firstling of his flock before a wooden hut, whilst Melchizedek (designated by a nimbus as the symbol of Christ) advances from a temple to pronounce a blessing over the Bread and Wine.

[1] Hare, ii. pp. 308, 310–312. The drawing by Edward Backhouse, from which W. B. Scott has made the etching here presented, is a composition from the two groups.

Moses also figures in several characters; and next to him Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Four Evangelists in the attitude of receiving inspiration.[1]

Last in order of time are the mosaics of the solitary church, S. Apollinare in Classe. "They are the memorials of the proud epoch when the Church in Ravenna, in league with Byzantium, declared herself on an equality with Rome, and sought by paying honour to her own patron saint Apollinaris, to place him on a level with the Apostle Peter.[2] Amidst figures of our Lord, the saint himself and the usual Old Testament characters, Constantinus, a youth in a crimson mantle and surrounded by a nimbus, is presenting a roll with the word *Privilegia* in red to a priest, whilst the archbishop of Ravenna looks on."[3]

We have reserved till the last the tomb or mausoleum of Theodoric. In order of time it belongs to the Second Period; but as a work of art it is entirely distinct from all the rest. Lord Lindsay thus describes it: "The roof is of one solid stone, or rather rock [now broken], hollowed into the shape of a cupola, and dropped as it were, from heaven—three feet thick, more than thirty

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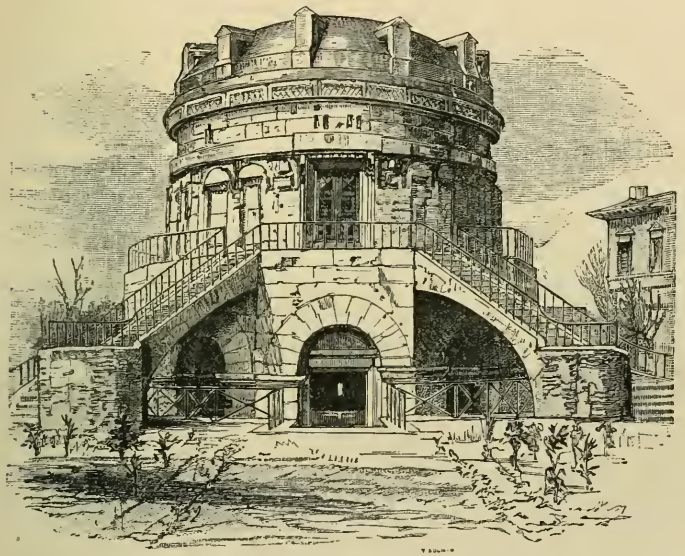
[1] Hare, ii. pp. 312, 313.

[2] This Apollinaris must not be confounded with the author of the heresy spoken of in the last chapter. Tradition relates that he was a native of Antioch, followed Peter to Rome, and was sent by him to Ravenna where he became bishop. He performed many miracles, and suffered martyrdom under Vespasian.—*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i. p. 133.

[3] Kügler, in Hare, ii. pp. 342, 343.

in diameter, and weighing two hundred tons;[1] the broad loops or rings by which it was lowered, jutting out externally, like ragged battlements, having never been smoothed away. The whole building, though not large, has a rugged, craggy, eternal character about it. Weeds tuft them- V.-VI. Cent.



Mausoleum of Theodoric, Ravenna.

selves among the masonry, and the breeze dallies with them as on the mountain-side, and the scene is nearly as lonely. This monument, although unquestionably of Roman masonry, is the sole relic

[1] Baedeker says it is thirty-six feet in diameter, and weighs 470 tons.—*North Italy.* Theodoric prepared the mausoleum in his lifetime.—Hodgkin, iii. p. 521. The stone was brought from Istria.—Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches*, p. 53.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

of what alone can pretend to the title of Gothic architecture; and most eminently characteristic it is of the indomitable race of the North. One would think they feared that neither Alaric nor Theodoric could be held down in their graves, except by a river rolling over the one, and a mountain covering the other."[1] "The tomb of Theodoric the Goth," says Symonds, "crowned by its semi-sphere of solid stone, stands in a green field, surrounded by acacias, where the nightingales sing ceaselessly in May. The mason-bees have covered it, and the water has invaded its sepulchral vaults. In spite of many trials it seems that human art is unable to pump out the pond and clear the frogs and efts from the chamber where the great Goth was laid by Amalasuntha." On the fall of the Gothic kingdom, the tomb was preserved from destruction by being consecrated for Catholic worship under the name of S. Maria della Rotunda. The ashes of the great king were collected and deposited in a porphyry vase, still to be seen in Ravenna.[2]

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[1] Lord Lindsay, *Christian Art*, in Hare, ii. p. 336. When Alaric died the stream of the Busentinus at Consentia (now Cosenza in Calabria) was by the labour of a captive multitude diverted from its course, and the royal sepulchre, adorned with the spoils and trophies of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed. The waters were then restored to their natural channel; and in order effectually to conceal the place of burial, the prisoners who had been employed to execute the work were massacred. —Gibbon, iv. pp. 123, 124.

[2] Lindsay, *ubi suprà;* Symonds, pp. 265, 266; Baedeker, *North Italy;* Smith's *Classical Dictionary.*

V.–VI. Cent.

Section III. In these rich remains of Christian art from the fifth to the seventh century, nothing is more conspicuous than the advance which had taken place in superstitious ideas since the era of the catacombs. That era came to an end about the time when the Ravenna mosaics were commenced. In the catacombs there is, as we saw in the *Early Church History*, a marked absence of that idolatry into which the Church afterwards fell. There are no apostles in their ecclesiastical character, no saints, no madonnas, no angels, no nimbus.[1] In Ravenna we find all these, some of them, it may be, here introduced for the first time. The earliest figures of angels are to be seen in the church of S. Agata; of apostles, in that of S. Giovanni in Fonte. The nimbus was a decoration of heathen origin, and was placed around the heads of gods and emperors. It would seem that previous to the sixth century it was applied to no Christian figure as such. Where it is seen round the head of our Lord in the earlier mosaics, it is thought to have been added by later hands.[2]

But the most notable departure from the earlier

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[1] Many of the works of art which have been found in the catacombs were added after the galleries had ceased to be used as a place of sepulture: they were also for several centuries from time to time restored and adorned.—See *Early Church History*, pp. 481–483.

[2] Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, i. pp. 74, 91, 176; *Dict Christ. Antiq.*, art. Nimbus. The *aureole* is the nimbus for the whole body, usually oval.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

simplicity is in the Madonna. In the mosaics of Ravenna we have one outcome of the orthodox zeal kindled by the Nestorian Controversy ; we see the virgin-mother with her Child, seated on her throne, the object of universal worship, and giving forth blessings as though she were God Himself. Henceforth the Virgin and Child becomes the leading subject of art, presented with every kind of variation, and employing the highest genius of each successive age. These bewitching representations are not without danger for the unwary mind ; and in the present age especially, when indifference, that deadly enemy of spiritual religion, has borrowed the name of charity, and the wholesome dread of Rome which acted as a restraint on our fore-fathers no longer exists, the seductive beauty of Italian art opens a wide door to error. That there is a real power in this fascination, such as may overcome true fidelity to Christ and to his first and great commandment is shown in a passage from Mrs. Jameson's work ; where she writes of those "who refuse to give to this subject the honour due to a religious representation, yet regard it with a tender half-unwilling homage ; and when the glorified type of what is purest, loftiest, holiest in womanhood, stands before us, arrayed in all the majesty and beauty that accomplished art inspired by faith and love could lend her, and bearing her Divine Son, rather enthroned than sustained on her maternal bosom, 'we look, and

the heart is in heaven!' and it is difficult, very difficult, to refrain from *Ora pro Nobis*." [1]

It is a wide-spread but mistaken belief that Christian worship is assisted by art. This belief is one of the results of looking to man for what can only come from God. The first century, during which the Church was a stranger to art, was the most glorious era of her history, and no epoch of Latin Christianity has been further removed from the faith and holy life of the primitive age, than that in which Raphael and Michael-Angelo exhausted their skill in adorning her temples. "In the teachings of the Saviour," writes Samuel Tuke, "there was much to show that 'Grace hath use of Nature': the dressing of the lily and the provision for the sparrows supply beautiful lessons on the universal providence of the Creator, and the trust which his superior creature Man might repose in Him. No idea, however, appears to have entered the minds of the early disciples that they were to set lilies and sparrows before them artificially to stimulate their trust and confidence. . . . History abundantly shows that as that living faith which is the life-blood of true religion declined, so did men seek by dead forms, pageantries, and other varieties of

[1] *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 58. That these grand efforts of the pencil are necessarily or even generally "inspired by faith and love," is a mere assumption, not borne out by fact. Some of the chief worshippers in the temple of the fine arts have been men of loose morals and doubtful faith.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

human art to stir up something which was *like* the living power that had been more or less lost. This practice of *imitation* will be found running through all the history of the Church's depravation. Art raised up feelings in men's minds which were the *imitations* of those holy aspirations that came from God and breathe towards Him. The Gospel in its simplicity had been preached to the poor, and had wrought its miracles; it had by the accompanying power of Divine Grace awakened dead souls, opened blind eyes, and the ear deaf to the sweetness of truth was made to hear and understand the words of eternal life. The changes were inward, but the effects were seen outwardly, and here was the door opened for human art to be exercised, and like the Egyptian sorcerers of old, it did somewhat '*likewise by its enchantments*.' We cannot, I believe, have too much impressed upon our minds, that all the ingenious arts by which it has been attempted to quicken dormant souls to the sense of heavenly things, are but so many counterfeits of truth and seals upon error, by which men are prevented from seeking after and finding the true wisdom and riches. . . . The use of sensible imagery in religious teaching, and some imitations of the heathen mysteries, may be clearly traced in the second century, and still more largely in the third. In the fourth century the rites and institutions by which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations had

formerly testified their religious veneration for fictitious deities, were adopted with some slight alterations by Christian bishops and employed in the service of the true God.[1] Thus art came to be restored in great measure to the place which she had formerly held in connection with religion; and her sway and influence increased during the period which elapsed between what is called the conversion of Constantine, and the downfall of the Roman Empire." So was it in the era of the renaissance: "It was just when superstition and profligacy were at their height in that which called itself the Church of Christ, and when wealth had again arisen to encourage them, that the fine arts also again made their appearance to hide by their adulterate decorations the filthiness which was within. Licentious and profligate popes patronized those extraordinary efforts of the pencil by which the events of sacred story were transferred pictorially to the walls of the great Temple of Rome or of the Vatican. There was no incongruity between the grossest sensuality and impiety, and the love and admiration of the beautiful in nature as presented by the fine arts; and though in the complicated operations of moral causes, it is not permitted us absolutely and certainly to analyse their several portions of influence, and though I am far from tracing the

V.–VI. Cent.

[1] Mosheim, i. p. 393.

Per. II. Chap. 3.

condition of the Church primarily to a love of the artificial, yet I think it bears the character of an important agent in the progress of deterioration, and that at least, by glozing over or hiding the real deformities and deadness of the Church, it tended greatly to obstruct the work of reformation." [1]

[1] *Papers on the Fine Arts* in *The Friend* journal, 1844, pp. 247, 248.

CHAPTER IV.

Mary-Worship.

Section I. The worship of the Virgin, as already said, was almost unknown before the Nestorian Controversy: the first Council of Ephesus denotes the era of its birth. V.-VI. Cent.

The worship of the saints in general was familiar to men's minds for some time before the Virgin Mary became the especial object of adoration. The craving for human mediators between man and God, fostered by heathen influences and a one-sided theology, found its most complete satisfaction in the person of the Virgin. "Directly," remarks Milman, "that Christian devotion expanded itself beyond its legitimate objects, . . . the Virgin-mother of the Saviour appeared to possess peculiar claims to veneration. . . . The higher importance assigned to the female sex by Christianity, than by any other form at least of Oriental religion, powerfully tended to the general adoption of the worship of the Virgin. Women willingly deified this perfect representative of their own sex, while the sex was elevated in general sentiment by the influence ascribed to their all-powerful

Per. II. Chap. 4.

patroness. The ideal of this sacred being was the blending of maternal tenderness with perfect purity—the two attributes of the female character which man, by his nature, seems to hold in the highest admiration and love."[1]

Let us trace the steps by which Mary-worship was developed. The first germ is to be found in the parallel which, in the second century, was drawn between the Virgin and Eve. The earliest writer who refers to this is Justin Martyr. "Eve, a virgin, conceived the word of the serpent, and brought forth disobedience and death; but the virgin Mary received faith and joy, when the angel Gabriel announced the good tidings to her, and replied, 'Be it unto me according to thy word.' And from her was born He by whom God destroyed the serpent."[2] Half a century later, this simple thought had developed in such a manner as already to trench on the Saviour's work of redemption. "If," says Irenæus, "the virgin Eve disobeyed God, the virgin Mary was persuaded to be obedient to God, that she might become the advocate of the virgin Eve. Thus, as the human race fell into bondage unto death through a virgin, so is it rescued through a virgin." Again: "As Eve being disobedient, became the cause of death both to herself and to the whole human race, so Mary being obedient

[1] *History of Christianity*, iii. pp. 424, 425.

[2] *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 100.

became the cause of salvation both to herself and to all mankind. . . . The knot of Eve's disobedience was loosed through the obedience of Mary." [1]

These Fathers are, however, entirely unconscious of the perfections which a later age discerned in Mary; they speak of her just as they do of the other holy women of the New Testament, as simply human, liable to err, obnoxious to reproof. Thus Irenæus, commenting (in a somewhat imaginative style) on the miracle of the wine, writes: "When Mary urged the Lord to perform the miracle, desiring before the time to partake of the cup of treasure, repelling her untimely haste, He said, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee, mine hour is not yet come.'" Tertullian is more out-spoken. He is discoursing on Matt. xii. 46–50. "The Lord's brethren had not yet believed in Him.[2] His mother also is not shown to have adhered to Him, although the Marthas and the other Marys were in constant attendance on Him. Whilst Jesus was teaching the way of life, and preaching the Kingdom of God, and actively engaged in healing infirmities of body and soul,—strangers being intent upon Him,—his nearest relatives were absent. By-and-by they arrive, and keep outside; but they do not go in, because forsooth they set small store by that which was

[1] *Against Heresies*, b. v. c. 19, § i.: b. iii. c. 22, § 4. See also Tertullian, *On the Flesh of Christ*, c. xvii. His language however is less reprehensible.

[2] John vii. 5.

Per. II. Chap. 4.

doing within; nor do they even wait, but prefer to interrupt Him, and wish to call Him away from his great work." Origen interprets the sword which was to pierce through Mary's own soul, to be her unbelief, which caused her to be offended; and even so late as the end of the fourth century, Chrysostom speaks of the "excessive ambition, foolish arrogancy, and vain-glory," which made her, on the occasion above referred to, desire to speak with Him.[1]

We have already spoken of Mary's "perpetual virginity."[2] The first champion of this doctrine, Epiphanius, is the first also in the orthodox Church to broach the utterly baseless idea, of her "Assumption." "For myself, I am uncertain whether Mary died and was buried, or not." But so little was the Church of that day prepared for the actual worship of the Virgin, that the same writer strongly reprehends the practice of certain women who came from Thrace into Arabia, and who were accustomed, on a fine day, once in the year, to spread a linen cloth on a car (or throne) and offer on it to the Virgin a cake (perhaps in imitation of the worship of Ceres). "The whole thing," he says, "is foolish and strange, and is a device and deceit of the Devil. Let Mary be in

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[1] Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, b. iii. c. 16, § 7; Tertullian, *On the Flesh of Christ*, c. vii.; Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. p. 269.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 381, 382, 420, note 2.

honour. Let the Lord be worshipped. Let no one worship Mary." [1] IV.–V. Cent.

By the end of the fourth century Mary's perpetual virginity had become an article of faith. Jerome (in 383) anathematizes Helvidius and Jovinian for maintaining that she bore children to Joseph after the birth of Jesus; and a few years later, Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, was for the same offence deposed, and his church closed against him. A further step is attributed to Augustine, viz., the doctrine that Mary was free from actual, although not from original sin.[2]

We first meet with prayer to the Virgin towards the end of this century. Gregory Nazianzen (A.D. 389) tells of a woman who in a time of danger prayed to Mary for protection; but neither Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, nor Augustine supplies any example of such an invocation.[3]

It was, as already said, the Nestorian Controversy that gave the signal for the worship of Mary, raising her at once to the highest rank in the new Christian Pantheon. From the time when Nestorius was condemned by the Council at Ephesus, the title of *Theotokos* (Mother of God), which had hitherto been used only by the Alexandrian School, became general. The Eutychians

[1] Mosheim, i. p. 415; Epiphanius, *Against Heresies*, Her. lxxviii., Migne; *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. p. 268.

[2] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Bonosus, i. p. 330.

[3] Roberts, *Church Memorials*, p. 133; Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, ii. pp. 574–576.

Per. II. Chap. 4.

vied with the Catholics in the honour they paid to the Virgin; and the Monophysite bishop of Antioch, Petrus Gnapheus, was the first to introduce her name into the prayers of his church (circa 470).[1] Churches and altars were everywhere dedicated to the "Holy Mother of God, the perpetual Virgin," and the picture of the Madonna and Child became the symbol of the orthodox faith. Every one who wished to prove his abhorrence of the arch-heretic Nestorius exhibited on the walls of his house, or on his garments or furniture, the image of the maternal Virgin holding in her arms the Divine infant.[2]

The Apocryphal Gospels, which about this time began to find general acceptance, powerfully aided the development of Mary-worship. In these fabulous histories of our Lord and his Apostles, which had their origin amongst the Gnostics, and were for a long time rejected by the Church, are contained marvellous stories concerning Mary—the germs of those dogmas which in course of time became articles of faith. Soon the language addressed to her grew well nigh blasphemous. The opponents of Nestorius, Proclus who succeeded him at Constantinople, and Cyril bishop of Alexandria, could scarcely find words emphatic enough to express her transcendent glory. She is, "The

[1] Roberts, p. 139, note. This practice appears not to have obtained in the Latin Church till the time of Pope Gregory the Great.

[2] Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, p. xxi.

spiritual Paradise of the second Adam, the living Bush of nature, the Sceptre of orthodoxy, the imperishable Temple." Through her "heaven rejoices and the angels and archangels are glad, the devil is disarmed and banished, fallen man is restored to heaven, and every believing soul is saved."[1] The language attributed to Ephrem the Syrian goes, if possible, still further. "Queen of the Universe, hope of the despairing; higher than the inhabitants of heaven, more refulgent than the sun, more glorious than cherubim, more holy than seraphim; the only hope of the fathers, the glory of the prophets, the herald of the apostles. By thee we are reconciled to Christ our God, thy most dear Son; thou art the only advocate of the sinner and the helpless."[2] IV.-VII. Cent.

Section II. We add here an outline of the history of Mariolatry down to our own time.

In the sixth century we find the Emperor Justinian imploring the Virgin's intercession with God at the dedication of the church of St. Sophia, and in general for the success of his administration. His general Narses was unwilling to join battle until he had received some token of her protection; and the Emperor Heraclius (A.D. 610) had images of the Virgin on his masts when he

[1] Schaff, pp. 946 and 721. Yet Cyril puts into Mary's heart at the cross a train of thoughts savouring strongly of doubt or unbelief.—Id., 947.

[2] Taylor, *Ancient Christianity*, ii. p. 167.

Per. II. Chap. 4.

sailed to Constantinople to overthrow Phocas. The Old Testament types and prophecies were now found to apply to the Virgin as well as to the Saviour. Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople in the eighth century, finds in her, "the Second Tabernacle, the altar, the Holy of Holies, the Cherubim of glory, the burning bush, the temple gate entered by the Lord God which man might never open, the root of Jesse, the garden enclosed, the city of God, the Queen and the Bride." "At three years old," he relates, "she was brought into the Temple and fed by an angel in the Holy of Holies with ambrosial food and divine nectar till her maturity, and when her sojourn on earth was finished, since it could not be that the body which had received God within it should see corruption, she was taken up alive to heaven, the empty tomb bearing witness." He thus addresses her. "O Mistress, Mother of God, grant to all who celebrate this thy festival, thy help, shelter, and patronage, ever saving them through thy intercessions from all dangers, diseases, and calamities, and from the future threatening of thy Son, and establish them in the palace of delight."[1]

It remained for the learned and pious Schoolman Bonaventura (in the thirteenth century), by a new device to intensify and popularize this unscriptural worship. In the *Virgin's Psalter*, ascribed to his

[1] Schaff, p. 423; Elliott, *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, ii. pp. 330–332.

pen, the Psalms are applied to Mary instead of to God.[1] It is a religious parody, and whilst it is as such abhorrent to our feelings, a few examples are necessary to show how far the Church of Rome has wandered in the path of idolatry.

PSALM XV.

Remember, O Lady, and speak favourably for us, and avert from us the anger of thy Son.

PSALM XXVI.

O Lady, I have loved the beauty of thy countenance, and I have venerated thy holy majesty.

Confess her name because it is holy, and because her marvellous works are recounted throughout all ages.

PSALM CXIX.

Lead me in the path of thy mercies, thou most beautiful of women, for I have desired thee.

How have I loved thy law, O Lady; thy meditation is always present to me.

Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and an ineffable light unto my ways.

In the *Canticles* and *Hymns*, printed with the *Psalter*, we find:—

I will confess thee Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them unto babes.

Thy glory has covered the heavens, and the earth is full of thy mercy.

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[1] Roberts, p. 140, note. This book, whether from the hand of Bonaventura himself or of a contemporary, is always printed in his name, and is at the present day a most popular work in France and Italy, editions being continually issued with the papal sanction.

Per. II. Chap. 4

As the child cannot live without its nurse, so cannot salvation be obtained without our Lady.

At thy name let every knee bow, in heaven, on earth, and in hell.[1]

Other similar works of devotion might be quoted. In a modern volume issued under the highest authority we read :—

Modern heretics cannot endure that we should salute and call Mary our Hope. They say that God alone is our Hope, and that He curses those who put their trust in creatures. This is what the heretics say; but, in spite of it, the Holy Church obliges all ecclesiastics and religious each day to invoke and call Mary by the sweet name of our Hope—the Hope of all.

O Immaculate Virgin, prevent thy beloved Son, who is irritated by our sins, from abandoning us to the power of the devil. . . . Through thee we have been reconciled to God. Thou art the salvation of the whole world.

We often obtain more promptly what we ask by calling on the name of Mary, than by invoking that of Jesus.

Jesus himself said, Were it not for the prayers of my Mother, there would be no hope of mercy.

Mary so loved the world as to give her only-begotten Son.[2]

What is this but the "mouth speaking blasphemies" ? (Rev. xiii. 5.)

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[1] *The Psalter of the Blessed Virgin*, translated by Dr. Cumming, pp. 15, 20, 62, 64, 83–85.

[2] The *Glories of Mary*, translated from the Italian of St. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori. He founded the Order of the Redemptionists in 1732, and died in 1782. The *Imprimatur* runs thus: "We hereby approve of this translation of the *Glories of Mary*, and cordially recommend it to the faithful.—Nicholas Card. Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, A.D. 1852." "We heartily commend this translation of the *Glories of Mary* to all the disciples of her Divine Son.—✠ Henry E. Archbishop of Westminster [Cardinal Manning], Aug. 11, 1868." Pp. 83, 248, 249, 112, 179, 478.

The *Ave-Maria* takes its name from Gabriel's salutation, "Hail Mary," and consists of Luke i. 28 and 42, with this addition, made in the beginning of the sixteenth century: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, both now and in the hour of death. Amen." It is placed in the Romish Missal on a level with the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, and with them forms the basis of the Rosary.[1] XI.-XIX. Cent.

The earliest festivals in honour of the Virgin, the Annunciation and the Purification, cannot be traced back further than the sixth century. The latter was also called Candlemas, from the multitude of candles which were then lighted, as was formerly done in the heathen festival of the Lupercalia, in the same month of February.[2] The feast of the Assumption, founded on the Gnostic legend of her translation to Heaven, became at Rome, in the ninth century, one of the chief festivals. Several others were added in later times.[3]

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[1] Schaff, p. 424. The origin of the Rosary is thus related by Gieseler: "Ever since virtue was supposed to attach to frequent repetitions of forms of prayer, people naturally were in want of means for facilitating and securing the enumeration of them. Thus an Egyptian monk, Paulus, used to count his prayers by the help of stones; Godiva, an English countess about 1040, by a lace; which however is no evidence for the existence of the Rosary as an article in common use. Yet in the thirteenth century a medallion with sacred symbols on it, set round with knobs for counting, was in use. . . . The Rosary is first heard of among the Dominicans as early as 1270, under the technical name of the Paternoster."—*Eccles. Hist.*, iii. pp. 248, 249.

[2] When Ceres searched with candles for her daughter Proserpine, carried by Pluto into the regions below.

[3] *Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, art. Mary, Festivals of.

Per. II. Chap. 4.

Our sketch would be imperfect without a brief notice of the debated doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. This innovation having been propounded about A.D. 1140, by some canons of Lyons, drew down upon them the rebuke of the great Bernard: "On the same principle you would be obliged to hold that the conception of her ancestors in an ascending line was also a holy one; since she could not otherwise have descended from them after a worthy manner, and there would be festivals without number. . . . We ought not to attribute to Mary that which belongs to Him only who being Himself free from sin can make others holy. Except Him, all who are descended from Adam must say of themselves that which one of them says in the name of all, 'In sin did my mother conceive me.'"[1] And a century afterwards the doctrine was attacked by the celebrated Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, so vigorously, that he was thought to have utterly overthrown and chased it into oblivion. But his great successor and opponent in the philosophy of the Schoolmen, the Franciscan Duns Scotus, took the fugitive dogma under his protection, and made of it the war-cry of the Franciscan order. Round this symbol the two puissant armies waged long and deadly war.

[1] Bernard however held that, "like John the Baptist and Jeremiah" (!), Mary was, before her birth, cleansed from original sin.—Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. Mary the Virgin.

XIII.–XIX. Cent.

When the Franciscans appealed to the revelations made to St. Birgitta (Bridget) in favour of the Immaculate Conception, the Dominicans opposed to them the visions of a sister of their own order, the celebrated Catharine of Siena. But as usual credulity was stronger than reason. Christendom in general, and the University of Paris in particular, declared itself (A.D. 1389) in favour of the Immaculate Conception. Several Dominican doctors were forced to recant, and all candidates for academical degrees were obliged to subscribe to the new doctrine. Since then it has become more and more deeply rooted in the Roman Catholic mind. In 1746 Pope Sixtus IV. appointed an annual festival in honour of it; and in 1854, in the most solemn manner, it was adopted as an article of faith by a general council held at Rome.[1]

Edward Backhouse's journal contains drawings and descriptions of more than one of the many Virgin Marys which everywhere meet the traveller in Italy—"in the churches, on the houses, at the corners of the streets, in chapels, in the fields." One of these, the *Black Virgin*, in the church of "the Madonna of St. Luke," on the summit of the Monte della Guardia, near Bologna, forms the frontispiece to the first volume of this work.[2] The

[1] Gieseler, iii. pp. 343–347: iv. pp. 197–200: v. pp. 64–69. In 1509 four Dominicans were burnt at Berne for getting up fraudulent appearances of saints in order to discredit it.

[2] The figures are seen through ornamental apertures in the door.

Per. II. Chap. 4.

church is connected with the city by an extraordinary avenue of 635 arches, three miles in length, built in honour of the Virgin.[1] The picture, said to be from the hand of the evangelist Luke, is supposed to have been brought to this spot from Constantinople by a hermit in A.D. 1160. It is thus mentioned in E. B.'s journal: "A priest in his muslin frock, after a longish prayer to the Virgin, reverently opened her shrine over the high altar, and exhibited her picture to the eyes of the English heretics. When we were satisfied with examining her beautiful face, for though very dark, it is beautiful, so that I thought if the beloved physician had lived in our day he might have been an R.A., the priest closed the bronze gilt doors, devoutly said another prayer, and quickly walked away."[2]

APPENDIX.

Auricular Confession.—At first confession was public; but in the fifth century Pope Leo I. discouraged this practice, and promoted instead that of private confession to a priest alone. His words are: "Let not written statements concerning the nature of the particular sins be any longer rehearsed in public; since it is sufficient to disclose the accusations of the

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[1] Hare, *Cities of Italy*, ii. p. 293.

[2] The tradition that Luke was a painter is "an idle legend of Greek origin, which first appears in a late and credulous historian."—M'Clintock and Strong, *Encyclopædia*, v. p. 551. He is credited with many portraits of the Virgin.

conscience to the priests, by a private confession. . . . For that confession is sufficient which is made first to God and then to the priest, for more persons will be induced to do penance, if the consciousness of the confessing person is not published in the ears of the people." Such confession, however, was not yet required as a condition of "communion." This was the work of centuries, and was not formally decreed till the fourth Council of Lateran, 1215, which adopted the following canon:—

"XXI. Every believer, after coming to years of discretion, shall faithfully confess all his sins alone, at least once a year, to his own priest, and shall endeavour to the utmost of his power to fulfil the penance enjoined; receiving reverently, at least at Easter, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, unless, perhaps, through the counsel of his own priest, for some reasonable cause, he should conclude to abstain at that time from its reception. Otherwise let him be prohibited from entering the church while living, and dying be deprived of Christian burial. But let the priest be discreet and cautious, that in the manner of a skilful physician he may pour the oil and the wine into the wounds of the sick, diligently inquiring into the circumstances both of the sinner and the sin. . . . We hereby decree that whosoever shall presume to reveal a sin made known to him in the tribunal of penitence, shall not only be deposed from the sacerdotal office, but shall be thrust into a close monastery to perform perpetual penance." At the same time another innovation was made. Formerly, the priest when he received the confession, laying his hands on the head of the penitent, prayed to God to remit his sins; but now this was exchanged for the presumptuous formula, "I absolve thee."[1]

[1] Mosheim, i. pp. 472, 473, and note; Bishop Hopkins, *History of the Confessional*, pp. 182, 183. This form was introduced into England by a Roman Cardinal who required all priests to use the words: "I absolve thee from thy sins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."—Roberts, *Church Memorials*, p. 306, and note.

Per. II. Chap. 4.

The Council of Trent, 1551, asserts that "a full confession of sins was instituted by the Lord as a part of the sacrament of penance, and is necessary for all who sin after baptism, because our Lord Jesus Christ, when He was about to ascend from earth to heaven, left his priests in his place, to whom all mortal offences into which the faithful might fall should be submitted, that by the power of the keys they might pronounce sentence of remission or retention of sins." On which Bishop Hall says: "This bird was hatched in the Council of Lateran, fully plumed in the Council of Trent, and now lately hath her feathers imped [1] by the modern casuists." [2]

From the change thus made by Pope Leo there have flowed consequences greater and, if possible, more disastrous than even from the celibacy of the clergy, the worship of saints, the doctrine of purgatory, or the mass itself; and never, perhaps, was the tyranny of this fearful invention more grinding than at the present moment. It can be only ignorance and a cold indifference, miscalled charity,[3] which can make Protestants blind to this mischief. "Confession in the ear," says Tyndale, "is verily a work of Satan, the falsest that ever was wrought, and which most has devoured the faith;" and Coverdale says: "Confession is a shameful tormenting of men's consciences, brought on by the special craft and subtlety of the devil to tangle poor men with a new snare." [4]

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[1] Lengthened. [2] Roberts, ibid.

[3] Or toleration. "Every one nowadays goes in for amateur philosophy, or for amateur Catholic ritualism; but it is curious to see that they are all for toleration, and seem to think we all mean the same thing, though we say exactly the opposite. O for the hard voice of the uncompromising Genevan, who knew at least that lies are not truth, and that if taken into the soul they work like poison there!"—Froude, *Oceana*, pp. 233, 294.

[4] Wainwright, *Romanism, Ritualism, and the Reformation*, p. 356.

CHAPTER V.

Benedict.

The life of a good man, under whose laws a section of the inhabitants of Western Europe have lived for thirteen centuries, must needs be worthy of our notice. Benedict, and Pope Gregory the Great, who wrote his biography, are the principal Churchmen of the sixth century. Yet the actual materials of Benedict's history are comparatively scanty, and every incident of his life is wrapped in a thick haze of miraculous interposition.[1] A.D. 480.

Jovinian and Benedict were both monks, but their experience of the cloister, and their convictions as to the means by which the Church was to be renovated, led them in wholly opposite directions. The one saw that without a return to first principles and New Testament teaching, the plague which was wasting the Church could never be stayed; the other believed that the monastic life upon which the Church had entered was her

[1] Gregory was nearly contemporary with Benedict, being three years old at the death of the latter. A halo of legend encircled the saint's head even during his life, and his miracles probably, as in the case of Martin of Tours, gathered little by the lapse of time.

Per. II. Chap. 5.

true course, and that what was needed was only to give to it its proper direction and consistency.

A century had elapsed since Jerome, Martin of Tours, and John Cassianus made Europe familiar with the monastic institution. The monastery at Marseilles, founded by Cassianus in the early part of the fifth century, was a centre of Christian influence, and amid the disorders caused by the marauding incursions of the northern tribes, proved a great blessing to the people. From this convent and its branches had gone forth many pious and laborious bishops. But by the end of this distracted century, the spirit of monasticism had declined and its discipline grown lax, and the monks are described as roaming over the country, corrupting both manners and religion.[1]

Benedict was born at Nursia in Central Italy,[2] A.D. 480. At the age of twelve he was, according to the still prevailing custom, sent to Rome to be instructed in the liberal arts; but his pure young spirit shrank from the corruption which he saw everywhere around him. He longed for solitude, and at the end of two years fled from Rome, accompanied for the first twenty-four miles by the nurse whom his parents had sent with him, and who from affection was unwilling to leave him. But Benedict still pursuing his ascetic bent, deserted her also; and proceeding further, came to a

[1] Neander, iii. pp. 369, 370, 373.

[2] In Umbria, midway between Rome and Ancona.

small village not far from the town of Subiaco.[1] The rustic inhabitants, pleased with his modesty and sweetness of disposition, allowed him to take up his abode in a cell near their church. Here he fell in with a monk named Romanus, who took him to a cavern not far from his own cloister; and in this rude shelter the delicately-nurtured boy found a home. His scanty food was secretly supplied by Romanus from his own small pittance. The cave was at the foot of the cliff on which the monastery stood; as there was no path down the rock, the bread was lowered by a rope, a small bell being attached to give warning. So entirely was Benedict cut off from the world that he ceased to mark even the fasts and festivals of the Church. At the end of three years his hiding-place was discovered by some shepherds, who at first mistook him for a wild beast, but when they drew near, were melted into kindness by his gentle eloquence. Henceforth the story of his life is a renewal of the experiences of Paul and Anthony in the desert of the Thebaïs. There are the same heroic conflicts with the natural passions,[2] the same deadly battles with the evil one under various disguises, the same prodigality of miracles wrought often for the most trivial purposes.[3]

A.D. circ. 480–500.

[1] Fifty miles east of Rome.

[2] Effectually to mortify his sensual appetite, he one day stripped off his only vestment of skins, and rolled himself in a clump of thorns and briars which was near his grotto.—Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, ii. p. 10.

[3] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, i. pp. 415–418; Neander, iii. pp. 370, 371; Robertson, i. pp. 559, 560.

Per. II. Chap. 5.

Benedict's fame spread through the country, and the place of abbot in a neighbouring convent falling vacant, the office was conferred on him. His strength of will was equal to the sweetness of his temper, and he warned the monks beforehand of the discipline which he should think it his duty to enforce. This he did with so much severity, that in a short time their love was turned to hatred, and they attempted to poison him. He mildly reproved them, prayed that they might be forgiven, and withdrew again to his grotto. This was no longer a solitude. The fame of his miracles and sanctity drew multitudes to him even from a distance. The dislocation of society, consequent on the repeated irruptions of the northern nations, and the rapid changes in government, possessions, and creed, drove men to seek shelter from the storms of the world in that recluse life which promised security from earthly vicissitudes. Men of consideration at Rome placed their sons with Benedict that he might educate them for the ascetic life; even Goths of the lower ranks came to him, and these he employed in the labour of the field and the garden. In a short time there sprang up in that romantic region, on the peaks of the hills, and under the oaks and chestnuts which clothed the ravines, twelve monasteries, each containing twelve monks under a superior.[1]

But Benedict could not remain at Subiaco. To

[1] Milman, i. p. 418; Neander, iii. pp. 371, 372.

rid himself of an envious priest, who plotted against his life and assailed the continency of his monks, he withdrew with a few followers to Monte Casino, fifty miles to the south-east, where they took up their abode in the ruins of an ancient castle. On this mountain stood a temple of Apollo in the midst of its sacred grove, and the peasants still brought their offerings to the pagan altar. By his eloquent preaching Benedict diverted the people from their idolatry, taught them the faith of the Gospel, and persuaded them to demolish the stately edifice, with its altar, idol and grove. He erected in its place a chapel, dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, and a monastery, the germ of that "great model republic which gave its laws to almost the whole of Western Monasticism." Here about the year 529[1] he framed his celebrated *Rule*, "an enduring monument of his own spirit, and of the new shaping which, through his instrumentality, was given to the Cœnobitic life of the West."[2] A.D. circ. 500–530.

In the Benedictine scheme the abbot is the representative of Christ; to him therefore all are to yield obedience, ready, cheerful and implicit.[3] Candidates are admitted for a year on probation, at the end of which time they take upon them-

[1] The same year in which the ancient classic schools of Athens were closed by order of Justinian.—Robertson, i. pp. 522, 560. The two events mark a dividing line between ancient and mediæval history.

[2] Milman, i. pp. 419, 420; Neander, iii. pp. 372, 373; Robertson, i. p. 560.

[3] They undertook patiently to bear public and humiliating penances, and even corporal punishment and exclusion.—Montalembert, ii. p. 61.

Per. II. Chap. 5.

selves the irrevocable vow. From the beginning poverty, chastity and obedience had been indispensable to the profession of a monk; Benedict made the last still more absolute, and added what was known as the *Vow of steadfastness*.[1] Henceforth the door of the monastery opened only inwards. Formerly, if the monk forsook his cell and married he was liable to penance, but his marriage was not annulled; now, such marriages were declared, *ipso facto*, void, and the offender was compelled to return. The vow, written out, was laid upon the altar, those who could not write signing it with their mark. The property of the novice, if not already given to the poor, was added to the common stock of the brotherhood. The beds of the monks were often searched, and punishment followed the appropriation of any valuables. No letters or presents, even from the nearest kindred, were to be received without leave of the abbot, who might transfer any gift to another than the one for whom it was intended. The abbot in his turn, although absolute, was admonished by the Rule, to temper the severity of discipline with the spirit of love; he should show mercy and gentleness to the brethren while he hated their faults; his own fallibility should ever be present with him, and he should remember that "the bruised reed is not to be broken."[2]

[1] *Stabilitatis Votum.*

[2] Robertson, i. pp. 560–562; Neander, iii. pp. 373, 374.

"The three occupations enjoined by Benedict's system were the worship of God, reading, and manual labour. The adventitious advantages of the monastery were not contemplated by the founder; the object was not to make the wilderness blossom with fertility, to extend the arts of civilized life into barbarous regions; it was solely to employ in engrossing occupation that portion of time which could not be devoted to worship and [meditation]." And in regard to learning and study, in which of later times the Benedictines have so highly distinguished themselves, this was an innovation quite foreign to the ideas of the founder himself, whom his biographer describes as "learnedly ignorant, and wisely unlearned."[1] Its introduction was perhaps chiefly due to the influence of Cassiodorus, a contemporary of Benedict, who in 538 laid aside the high office which he held in the state, and retired from the world in order to found a monastery at Vivarium in Calabria.[2] A.D. circ. 530.

The monastic day was equally divided between religious exercises and labour. Seven times[3] in the twenty-four hours prayers were chanted by

[1] "Scienter nesciens, et sapienter indoctus."—Milman, i. p. 416, note.

[2] Now Viviers.—Milman, i. pp. 420, 421; Schaff, pp. 225, 226; Robertson, ibid. Cassiodorus caused his monks to transcribe even the ancient classics, by which means some at least escaped destruction.

[3] This number is taken from Psalm cxix. 164. They were—(besides vigils), matins (morning), prime (*early*), tierce, sexte, nones (*third, sixth, ninth* hour), vespers (*even-tide*), and compline (*completion* of the day).

Per. II. Chap. 5.

the brotherhood, commencing at dawn with *matins*, before which *vigils* had been sung already. The psalms were distributed among these services in such a manner that they should all be chanted every week. Much time was spent in learning them by rote and in reading the Scriptures, Cassianus's *Conferences*, the Lives of the Saints, and other "edifying books." At meals there was reading aloud and no conversation was permitted. During harvest the monks did not return to the house, but knelt and performed their religious service in the fields. Manual labour was varied by the teaching of children, sent to reside in the cloister or in daily attendance from the neighbouring village. As time went on this occupation became of more and more importance, and gave its literary shape to the Benedictine societies.[1]

In regard to abstinence the Rule was less severe than amongst the Eastern monks. It was not however from choice that Benedict admitted a relaxation of the ancient severity; he did so unwillingly, and only in condescension to what was then supposed to be the gradually decreasing vigour of the human frame! The monks were cooks and servitors by turn. At the end of the week, the one who went off duty and he who took his place were to wash the feet of the rest. Two sorts of grain

[1] Robertson, ibid.; Schaff, p. 223; Montalembert, ii. p. 59.

or vegetables were served for dinner, with fruit or salad, and sometimes fish or eggs, with a small measure of wine. A pound of bread a day was allowed to each. Indulgence was shown to the aged and sick. From Easter to Pentecost there was no fast; from Pentecost till the end of September there were fasts on two days of the week; the rest of the year to Easter was a perpetual fast, with one evening meal a day. In Lent a still more rigorous abstinence was enjoined, not from food only, but from sleep and speech. It was strictly forbidden to partake of food without the walls; if a brother was obliged to be absent the whole day, the Rule required him to fast until his return. To take away occasions of absence, every monastery contained within its enclosure a mill, a well, a bakehouse, and all other needful appliances. When a monk was sent out on necessary business he was forbidden on his return to dissipate the minds of the brethren by relating his adventures. The occupation of every monk was determined by the abbot, and if any one prided himself on his skill in any art or handicraft the Rule required him to abandon it! The laws of commercial economy being then but little understood, the monasteries, to escape the reproach of covetousness, were accustomed to sell their productions under the market price.[1] A.D. circ. 530.

[1] Robertson, i. pp. 562, 563; Milman, i. p. 421; Waddington, ii. p. 218, note.

Per. II. Chap. 5.

The clothing consisted of a coarse tunic or robe with long sleeves, which served as a shirt; at first white, afterwards changed to black. For the offices of the choir, the monks put on a large mantle with a cowl, also black, and a scapulary, consisting of two pieces of cloth joined round the neck with a hood, and hanging, one part in front, the other behind.[1] Unlike the Oriental monks, they wore shoes and stockings; their girdle was narrow and of leather. Each had two suits which he himself kept in repair. They slept in their clothes, shoes and girdle, in dormitories of ten or twenty, in separate beds, the young and old intermixed, with a deacon to each chamber. The penalty for light faults was the smaller excommunication, *i.e.*, eating alone after the others had done. For graver faults, separation from the table, from prayers and from the community, personal chastisement, and last of all, expulsion.[2]

Silence, humility, obedience, these were the cardinal virtues of the cloister life. "Everything," remarks Milman, "was concentrated on self. It was the man isolated from his kind who was to rise to a lonely perfection; all the social, all patriotic virtues were excluded." Humility was confounded with slavish fear, and a false

[1] "This was nothing else than the hooded frock of the ploughman and shepherd, borrowed from that of the slave in pagan times, such as Columella has described."—Montalembert, ibid.

[2] Montalembert, ii. pp. 60, 61, and note; Robertson, ibid.; Schaff, ibid.; Neander, *Life of St. Bernard*, p. 19, note.

importance was attached to the outward demeanour. Benedict took no account of the Lord's plain injunction: "Thou when thou fastest anoint thy head and wash thy face, that thou be not seen of men to fast." Like Basil and Gregory,[1] he thought it necessary that the temper of the mind should be exhibited in the postures of the body. The head was to be constantly bowed down; the eyes directed to the earth; the thoughts to be hourly occupied in self-accusation for sin; and the brethren were to cultivate the state of mind of those who might at any moment appear before the Divine Judgment-seat. Benedict persuaded himself that this was the discipline which made men free. "When," he says, "the monk has passed through all these stages of humility, he will attain to that love of God, which being perfect casts out fear, and will begin to practise naturally and from custom all those rules which he before observed through fear."[2] A.D. circ. 530–542.

Not long before his death Benedict was visited by the great Totila, at the head of his victorious Ostrogoths. To test his prophetic spirit the king dressed one of his captains in his own royal

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 54, 55, and note.

[2] Neander, iii. p. 374; Milman, i. p. 420. "The Catholic Church has recognized three other rules besides that of St. Benedict, viz.: 1. That of St. Basil, which is still retained by the Oriental monks; 2. That of St. Augustine, which is adopted by the regular canons, the order of the preaching brothers or Dominicans, and several military orders; 3. The rule of St. Francis of Assisi and his Mendicant order in the thirteenth century."—Schaff, p. 220, note.

Per. II. Chap. 5.

robes and purple boots, gave him a numerous escort, and sent him up to the monastery to present himself as the king. The moment Benedict perceived the captain, "My son," he cried, "put off the dress thou hast on, it is not thine." Totila himself afterwards ascended the hill, and fell prostrate at the abbot's feet. Benedict raised him up, solemnly rebuked him for the cruelties he had committed, and, so it is said, foretold his conquest of Rome, his passage over to Sicily and Greece, his reign of nine years, and his death during the tenth. The greater humanity which distinguished Totila's conduct of the war from this time is attributed to his interview with the saint.[1]

Benedict's twin sister, Scholastica, was as devout as himself, and equally powerful in attracting and ruling her own sex. Her convent was not far from his; they met however once only in each year. When she lay on her death-bed, about the year 543, he came to visit her, expecting it might be for the last time. With the sisterly affection which her artificial manner of life had not been able to quench, she entreated him to rest for the night under her roof. He had never passed a night out of his own monastery, and he refused, even at her solicitation, to break his rule. Scholastica bowed her head in prayer. Suddenly the serene sky was overcast, lightnings flashed and thunders pealed above them, and the rain fell in

[1] Milman, i. pp. 422, 423; Montalembert, ii. pp. 29–31.

torrents. "The Lord have mercy upon thee, my sister," said Benedict, "what hast thou done?" "I prayed to thee," she replied, "and thou wouldst not hearken to me, but the Lord has heard my prayer. Go now if thou canst." They passed the night together in spiritual conversation. "Three days afterwards Benedict, from the window of his cell, saw his sister soar up to heaven in the form of a dove." He survived her only forty days. A violent fever seized him. He ordered her tomb to be opened, and caused himself on the sixth day to be carried into the chapel, where, supported by his monks, he received the *viaticum*. Then standing beside the open grave, at the foot of the altar, with his arms extended, he breathed out his spirit in prayer.[1] A.D. 542–580.

It was an era of convulsion in the political world. The fall of the Gothic monarchy and the reconquest of Italy by the generals of Justinian were succeeded by the invasion of the Lombards, under their king Alboin, in 568. Arian in name, but still half-pagan in their nature, they crossed the Alps, and poured themselves down upon the plains of Italy. So sweeping was the devastation they wrought that the end of the world was thought to have come. They were especially furious against the monasteries; and in 580 they attacked the sanctuary of Monte Casino by night, pillaged and burnt it. The monks all escaped, bearing

[1] Milman, i. pp. 423, 424; Montalembert, ii. pp. 35–38.

with them, as their entire fortune, the *Rule* written by their founder, with the day's measure of wine and pound of bread which he had prescribed.[1] Benedict is said to have foreseen the event in prophetic vision. A nobleman with whom he lived on familiar terms found him one day weeping bitterly. After watching him for a long time, and perceiving that his tears did not cease, and that they did not proceed from the ordinary fervour of his prayers but from profound melancholy, the nobleman asked the cause. Benedict answered: "This house which I have built and all that I have prepared for my brethren has been delivered up to the pagans by the sentence of Almighty God; scarcely have I been able to obtain that their lives shall be spared."[1]

But ere he died, Benedict was comforted, so we are told, by another vision. He saw his Rule go forth over all Europe, and monasteries of his order rise up in every part of the Western world. This, indeed, actually came to pass. Except during the temporary prevalence of Columbanus' Rule in France, that of Benedict was paramount in Europe until the thirteenth century, when the Dominicans and Franciscans partially eclipsed it; it formed the model for all other monastic orders, and was the prolific nursery of missionaries, authors, bishops and popes.[2]

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[1] Montalembert, ii. pp. 34, 82, 83.

[2] Milman, i. p. 422; Schaff, p. 224.

PERIOD III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 590,
TO THE END OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Gregory the Great.

The pontificate of Gregory is an era in the history of the Church. In him the papacy came to maturity. Leo the Great possessed superior genius and ambition; but in his days there was still a power higher than the Roman Church, the Roman Empire. By the time of Gregory a great change had taken place. The Western Empire fell in 476, and although in the next century Belisarius and Narses had recovered Italy for the Byzantine Emperors, it was but an ephemeral flicker of the expiring flame. The political horizon had fallen to a dead level,—the only figure which rises above it is the Roman pontiff. A.D. circ. 540.

With Gregory we stand on the threshold of the Middle Ages. The classic world of antiquity has disappeared. The language of Rome has almost ceased to be vernacular, and is soon only to be met with in the courts of law, the Church and the cloister. Scarcely is there to be found a single man of genius or learning either in the East or in the West. The Eastern Church, sunk down under its own corruptions and the weight of Byzantine

Per. III. Chap. 1.

despotism, is soon to become an easy prey to the Moslem conquerors. The Church of the West is compared by Gregory himself to "an old and shattered ship, admitting the waters on all sides, her timbers rotten and shaken by daily storms and premonitions of wreck." [1]

In the person of Gregory the bishop of Rome first became in act and influence, if not in avowed authority, a temporal sovereign. "His acts," writes Milman, "were not the ambitious encroachments of ecclesiastical usurpation, but were forced upon him by the purest motives, if not by absolute necessity. The virtual sovereignty fell to him as abdicated by the neglect or powerlessness of its rightful owners; he must assume it, or leave the city and the people to anarchy." [2]

Gregory was high-born [3] and wealthy, and had for some years filled the office of Roman prætor; but the monastic life of Monte Casino captivated him, and on his father's death he abandoned his high office and professed himself a Benedictine monk. He sold his patrimony, and the wealthy patrician who had been used to traverse the city in silk and jewels, now, habited like a beggar, was to be seen waiting on the beggars in the hospital of the monastery, which he had built at the gate of his paternal mansion. He practised the austerities of the order with the utmost rigour, eating nothing

[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Gregorius I., Pope, ii. p. 780.

[2] *Latin Christianity*, i. p. 452. [3] His birth is dated about A.D. 540.

but pulse which his mother sent him ready soaked in a silver porringer. This porringer, which was the only relic of his former splendour, did not long remain in his hands, for one day a shipwrecked sailor coming to beg of him as he was writing in his cell, Gregory finding no money in his purse, gave him the bowl. Constant fasts and vigils reduced him to such a state of debility that he was scarcely able to stand.[1] A.D. circ. 540–590.

Gregory founded six monasteries in Sicily beside that in which he lived at Rome. The fame of his abstinence and charity took, as was usual in that age, the form of miracle, and his monastery was the perpetual scene of preternatural wonders. It was whilst he was still in the convent that the well-known incident took place which led to the conversion of our Saxon ancestors; it will be related in the next chapter. At first it was Gregory's purpose himself to carry the Gospel into our remote and barbarous island. He extorted the

[1] Montalembert, ii. pp. 84–87; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, ii. p. 779. The legend founded on this incident is the subject of a recent poem by J. G. Whittier: a tale told to travellers

> "Who pause beside the narrow cell
> Of Gregory on the Cælian hill."

It recounts how, when

> "called at last to bear
> The pastoral crook and keys of Rome,
> The poor monk, in St. Peter's chair,
> Sat the crowned lord of Christendom,"

he made a feast to twelve beggars, and our Lord Himself appeared with them, presenting to Gregory his own silver cup, given years before to the wayfarer.—*Saint Gregory's Guest*, p. 9.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

unwilling consent of the pope (Pelagius II.) to leave his monastery for this purpose, and had actually set forth and travelled three days' journey, when he was overtaken by messengers sent to recall him. "All Rome had risen in pious mutiny and compelled the pope to revoke his permission."[1]

Soon after his return Italy became a scene of misery and desolation. The Lombards were wasting the peninsula; the feeble exarch of Ravenna confessed he had no power to withstand them; the Tiber at Rome overflowed and swept away the granaries of corn, and a pestilence ensued to which the pope Pelagius fell an early victim, A.D. 590. A successor had to be found; with one voice the clergy, the senate and the people summoned Gregory to the vacant chair. The prospect of the honour was a burden to him; he wrote to the Eastern Emperor, Maurice, entreating him to withhold the Imperial consent; but his letter was intercepted, and a general petition for his promotion was substituted. During the interval Gregory ordered a special day of humiliation on account of the plague. Seven processions, chanting penitential prayers and hymns, paraded the streets—the clergy, the monks, the virgins, the married women, the widows, the male citizens, and lastly the poor and children. When the solemn train arrived at the mausoleum of the

[1] Milman, i. pp. 431–434.

Emperor Hadrian, on the further side of the Tiber, Gregory is said to have seen on its summit an angel sheathing his sword, in token that the plague was stayed.[1] On receipt of the Imperial rescript confirming his election, Gregory fled from the city in disguise and hid himself in a cave. He was discovered, it is said, by a light like a pillar of fire hovering over the spot.[2] A.D. 590.

"Monasticism ascended the papal throne in the person of Gregory. In austerity, in devotion, in imaginative superstition, he was a monk to the end of his days." Nevertheless he possessed an extraordinary capacity for business, and devoted himself to his manifold duties "with the hurried restlessness of the most ambitious statesman. Nothing seems too great, nothing too insignificant for his earnest personal solicitude; from the most minute point in the ritual, or regulations about the papal farms in Sicily, he passes to the conversion of Britain, the extirpation of simony amongst the clergy of Gaul, negotiations with the armed conquerors of Italy, or the revolutions of the Eastern Empire." But in the midst of all he panted for the retirement and quiet of his monastic life. "When I lived in the cloister my soul could almost always keep in a disposition for

[1] Whence the monument took the name of the Castle of St. Angelo. The plague, however, did not at once abate. The legend is probably an imitation of 1 Chron. xx. 14–16.

[2] Milman, i. pp. 437, 438; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iv. p. 780.

prayer. But since I have undertaken the pastoral office, my distracted soul can hardly ever collect itself. . . . What sort of watchman am I, who stand not on the height of a mountain, but in the valley of weakness? But the Creator and Redeemer of men is able to impart to me, unworthy as I am, vigour of life and power of tongue, if from love to Him I do not spare myself." "When," he writes to the bishop of Seville, "I led a tranquil life in the cloister I sailed before the wind; now the tempest has come upon me, I have lost my course, my mind has made shipwreck. Beaten by the waves I seek the plank of thy intercession, so that, unworthy to return with my ship safe and sound into port, I may at least struggle to shore on that plank."[1]

The Roman Liturgy, with the service of the Mass,[2] was settled by Gregory almost in the same form in which it has remained to the present day. He arranged the order of processions and the vestments of the priests and deacons. His attention to church music is perpetuated in the Gregorian Chant; he not only instituted a singing school, but himself taught the choristers, and the whip with which he admonished his inattentive scholars was preserved as a relic for centuries.[3]

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[1] Milman, i. pp. 438, 439; Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, pp. 389, 390; Montalembert, ii. p. 166. Had Gregory forgotten Isa. xliii. 11, "Beside me there is no Saviour?"

[2] See *ante*, p. 113.

[3] Roberts, *Church Memorials*, p. 350; Montalembert, ii. pp. 140–143. John the Deacon gives a humorous account of the attempts of the Ger-

Gregory's pontificate lasted thirteen years. He died A.D. 604, at the early age of 54. In his latter years he suffered much in body. "For nearly two years," he writes to the patriarch of Alexandria, "I have been imprisoned in my bed by such pangs of gout, that I can scarcely rise on great holidays to celebrate solemn mass. And the intensity of the pain compels me immediately to lie down again, that I may be able to endure my torture by giving free course to my groans." [1] A.D. 590-604.

Gregory's character exhibits in a striking light the contradictions of his age and of his office. He was charitable yet severe, humble yet ambitious, a lover of truth and yet could stoop to gross flattery, a proficient in the science of his day and a diligent expositor of Scripture, and yet immersed in the credulity and superstition which commonly belongs to ignorance.

On the great question of Slavery Gregory was an example to the Western Church, constituting himself the protector of what was perhaps still the most numerous class of the population. Unhappily, however, he was unable to put a stop to the slave-trade which was in the hands of the Jews. On the manumission of two slaves he had a deed drawn up

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mans (or Gauls), two or three centuries afterwards, to perform the Gregorian Chant: "Their thundering Alpine voices issuing from throats rasped with wine, vainly strive to give back the sweet modulation of the chant, instead of which a din like that of waggons rumbling over the stones disturbs and exasperates the hearers."—Robertson, ii. p. 5, note (*k*).

[1] Montalembert, ii. p. 169.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

with these golden words in the preamble: "It is a good and salutary thing when men whom nature created free, and whom the law of nations has enslaved, are presented again with the liberty in which they were born." The Western Churches, it may be remarked, were far behind their Oriental brethren on this point. The Eastern monks refused to keep slaves, not only because they themselves performed the most menial work, but because they would not thus degrade the image of God. The good abbot Isidore of Pelusium,[1] interceding with a nobleman on behalf of one of his slaves, wrote that "he could hardly believe that a friend of Christ, who had experienced the grace which makes all men free, could still own slaves." John surnamed the Alms-Giver, patriarch of Alexandria from 606 to 616, thus reproved some who treated their slaves with cruelty: "God has not given us servants that we should beat them, but that they may serve us; perhaps not even for this purpose, but rather that they may receive sustenance out of our abundance. Tell me what price can purchase him who was created after the image of God? Hast thou who art his master a single member more to thy body, or hast thou a different soul from him? Is he not in all things thy equal? Pray, what is the gold which is paid for the right to make a slave of him, for whose sake heaven,

[1] He died A.D. 431.

earth and sea, and all that is therein were created; A.D. 604.
to whom angels minister; on whose account Christ washed the disciples' feet; for whose sake Christ was crucified?" [1]

Devoted as Gregory was to ritualism, he yet, like Ambrose, caused the consecrated vessels of the altar to be sold for the redemption of captives taken in war.[2] To say that Gregory considered the poor would not be to say much of a Roman bishop; his almsgiving was on the most princely scale. The first day in every month he distributed corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, bacon, meat, fish and oil; and every day before he at down to his own meal, a portion was separated and sent out to the hungry at his door. Being told that a beggar had died of want in the city, he imposed on himself a hard penance as a punishment for the neglect of his stewardship. A bishop newly appointed refusing to relieve some poor aged persons who were on a journey, Gregory sent him a message. "It seems strange to me that one who has clothes, silver, and a cellar, should have nothing to give to the poor. Tell him that reading and prayer will not now be enough, that he cannot be suffered to sit alone in a corner; he must help the necessitous, he must regard the

[1] Neander, *History*, v. pp. 135–137; where see further testimonies from the Eastern monks; Milman, i. pp. 449, 450.

[2] Milman, i. p. 444; see *ante*, p. 160.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

wants of others as his own, otherwise his title of bishop will be only an empty name." [1]

With all his benevolence, Gregory's government of his monastery was severe in the extreme. Many who embraced the monastic life became weary of its monotony and sought to return to the world; for such he had no pity. Nor was he more indulgent to the faults of those who remained under his charge. He forgot Benedict's injunction not to break the bruised reed. A monk named Justus, formerly a physician, attended him skilfully and with affectionate care during a long illness. Justus on his death-bed confessed to his brother that he possessed three pieces of gold. This was in direct violation of the rule of the house. The money was found concealed amongst some drugs, and Gregory resolved to make the offender sensible of the enormity of his trespass, and to awe the brotherhood by the terror of his example. He suffered no one to approach the dying man's couch, sending him only the message that he died detested by all the community. And when the miserable man had breathed his last, his body, together with the three pieces of gold, was cast

[1] Milman, i. pp. 442, 443; Neander, *Memorials*, pp. 388, 389. A great volume recording the name, age and dwelling of the objects of Gregory's bounty was long preserved in the Lateran.—Milman, ibid. Economically speaking, the harm of such indiscriminate charity, in pauperising its objects, probably far outweighed the good that was effected. The papal bounty too may have been a measure of policy, the continuance of the Imperial largess which the Roman citizens were accustomed to expect.

out upon the dung-hill, the whole convent shouting: "Thy money perish with thee!" At the end of thirty days Gregory began to relent, and permitted mass to be offered for the tormented soul. This was repeated daily for thirty days more, when the spirit of Justus appeared to his abbot and assured him of his release from misery.[1] A.D. 604.

Yet there were not wanting traits of humility in the great pontiff. A bishop of Messina proposing to wait upon him at Rome, he repudiated such vain demonstrations of respect: "Do not trouble thyself to come to me, but pray that although we are separated from one another by the sea, we may be united in spirit." When the patriarch of Alexandria used the words, "as thou commanded," Gregory begged him to avoid such expressions. "I know who I am, and who thou art, in dignity and rank my brother, in piety my father."[2] Nevertheless the extravagant pretensions of the see of Rome, which had been handed down from bishop to bishop for successive generations, lost nothing in Gregory's hands. The thorn in his flesh during his later days was the attempt of the patriarch John of Constantinople to set up a rival claim for his own see, by assuming the title of Universal Bishop. In resisting this claim Gregory tries to persuade himself that he is opposing John in the common interests of the

[1] Milman, i. pp. 432, 433.

[2] Neander, *Memorials*, p. 391; *Church History*, v. p. 159.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

Church. "Is this the time chosen by an arbitrary prelate to invade the undoubted rights of St. Peter by a haughty and pompous title? Am I defending my own cause? Is this any special injury to the bishop of Rome? It is the cause of God, the cause of the whole Church. Let all Christian hearts reject the blasphemous name. Whoever calls himself universal bishop is Anti-Christ." How Gregory or his successors have reconciled these words, with their own assumptions, it is not easy to see. To us they seem to be the language of self-deception. The papacy never yields and never forgets, and it is fair to conclude that Gregory's indignant protest was directed not so much against the title as against the usurpation of it by his rival.[1]

The darkest stain on the memory of this distinguished man is found in connection with this rivalry. The Emperor Maurice, who seems always to have thwarted even the best of Gregory's measures, countenanced the claims of the patriarch of Constantinople, and was besides himself reputed a heretic. His end was tragical. Phocas, a soldier of fortune, "an odious and sanguinary tyrant," having risen in rebellion against him, caused Maurice to be dragged from the sanctuary to which he had fled, and with his five sons to be

[1] Milman, i. pp. 450-452. Cardinal Bellarmine endeavours to escape the difficulty by assuming that the term *episcopus universalis* is used in two very different senses.—Schaff, pp. 328, 329, and note.

butchered before his face. The news of the death of the Emperor filled Gregory with exultation, and he launched out into a panegyric on the base usurper: "Glory to God in the highest! who has chosen thee and placed thee on the Imperial throne to banish by thy merciful dispositions all our afflictions and sorrows. Let the whole people return thanks for so happy a change." [1] A.D. 604.

The new Christian idolatry which had grown up during the fourth and fifth centuries had by this time become universal, entering into the daily life of all Christendom. Every man was surrounded by a world of invisible beings—angels, whose visits were rare, demons who were continually on the watch to seduce the unwary, and glorified saints who had become the protectors of mankind in the place of God and Christ. The literature of the age, and Gregory's pages are no exception, is teeming with this invisible world. In his *Dialogues*, for example, a woman who eats a lettuce without making the sign of the cross, swallows with it a devil and becomes possessed. The relics of the martyrs, those priceless jewels of the Church, had now attained a self-defensive power; profane hands touching them were withered, and such as endeavoured to remove them were struck dead. "One of the golden nails of the chains of St. Peter tempted the avarice

[1] Milman, i. pp. 460–463; Roberts, pp. 356, 357, and note.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

of a Lombard (probably an Arian); he took out his knife to sever it; the awe-struck knife sprang up and cut his sacrilegious throat. The Lombard King and his attendants were witnesses of the miracle, and stood in terror, not daring to lift the fearful nail from the ground. A Catholic was fortunately found, by whom the nail permitted itself to be touched; this peerless gift, so avouched, Gregory presented to a distinguished civil officer." When the Empress Constantina, the consort of Maurice, applied to Gregory for the head of the apostle Paul or at least some portion of his body, to place in a church she was building, Gregory replied: "I neither can nor dare grant that favour, for the bodies of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, are so resplendent with miracles and terrific prodigies in their own churches, that no one can approach them without great awe, even for the purpose of adoring them. . . . I wished to make some alteration in the church near the most holy body of St. Paul, and it was necessary to dig deep in the neighbourhood of his tomb. The superior came to some bones not at all connected with his sepulchre, which he removed, but he paid dearly for his rashness. He was visited by a fearful apparition and died suddenly. . . . But that thy pious longing may not be wholly disappointed, I will hasten to send thee some filings of those chains which St. Paul wore on his neck and hands, if indeed I shall succeed in getting them off. For

since the devout are continually begging permission to take away something from these chains, a priest stands by with a file; and sometimes it happens that the dust falls off easily and instantly; while at other times the file is long drawn over them, and yet nothing is scraped off." [1] A.D. 604.

In spite however of superstition and prejudice, Gregory's opinions were often sound and enlightened. These are his words on the Christian ministry. "The world is full of priests, yet there are but few real labourers for God's harvest, since although we have undertaken the priestly calling, we do not fulfil its duties. He who is unable to occupy the congregation with a connected discourse may instruct individuals and edify them by private conversation. Let us ask ourselves, who have been converted by our tongue? We have received our talents to trade with; what profit have we brought to Him who said 'occupy till I come?' Behold, He is already come; He is looking for the profit from our traffic. What gain of souls can we show?" He does not restrict this responsibility

[1] Milman, i. pp. 469–472; Waddington, *History of the Church*, i. pp. 296, 297. Peter's chains, as well as those of Paul, were preserved at Rome. They were originally two, the Neronian with which he was bound by order of the Emperor Nero, and the Herodian by which he was attached to the soldiers in the prison at Jerusalem. The latter was discovered by the Empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius II., whilst on a pilgrimage, and sent by her as a precious relic to Rome, where the moment it touched the former it became miraculously welded to it, and thus formed one holy and inseparable chain! In memory of this miracle the feast of the Chains of Peter was instituted, and is still kept on the 1st of August.—Schaff, p. 443, and note.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

to the priesthood. "The priests' lips should teach knowledge, for he is a messenger of the Lord; but all may attain the same high dignity if they will. Whosoever calls his neighbour from wicked ways to a right course of life, he too, certainly is a messenger of the Lord. Let no one say, 'I cannot exhort others;' give what thou hast, lest a severe reckoning be made with thee for dishonestly keeping to thyself what thou hast received. So far as you have made progress take others with you; seek to gain companions in the ways of God. 'Let him that heareth say come;' so that whosoever has heard in his heart the voice of heavenly love may speak the word of exhortation to his neighbour. Hast thou no bread to give to the needy? Thou hast a tongue; thou hast something of more value than bread. For it is a greater thing to refresh by the nourishment of the word a soul destined to everlasting life, than to satisfy the mortal body with earthly bread. To the poorest, even the little that he has received will be reckoned as a talent."[1]

The Church of Rome venerates the name of Gregory as amongst the wisest of her doctors; it would have saved her from infinite loss if she had attended to his counsel on the study of Scripture. It was his constant habit to enforce upon both lay and clergy the great duty of reading the Bible.

[1] Neander, *Memorials*, pp. 391–395.

One of the Emperor's physicians excusing himself from this practice by the distractions of the times, Gregory wrote to him: "What else are the Holy Scriptures but a letter from the Almighty to his creatures? If thou wert staying at a distance from the court, and received a letter from thy earthly sovereign, thou wouldst not rest, thou couldst not sleep, till thou knew its contents. The King of Heaven, the Lord of men and angels, has sent thee his letter, giving thee directions how to attain eternal life, and yet thou art neglecting to read it. Bestir thyself, and reflect daily on thy Creator's words. Learn to know the heart of God from the words of God, so that thou mayest yearn with ardent longing after the Eternal." To a bishop who made the same excuse, namely, that his duties left him no leisure for reading,[1] Gregory quoted Rom. xv. 4, and continued: "If the Holy Scriptures were written for our comfort we ought the more to read them in proportion as we feel oppressed by the burden of our distractions." And when the bishop, referring to Matt. x. 19, "But when they deliver you up, be not anxious how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that hour, what ye shall speak;" argued that the teachers of the Church had no need to study the Divine word, but might rely simply on the immediate revelation of the Holy Spirit, Gregory

A.D. 604.

[1] The functions of the bishops, as of the pope, were in those unsettled times various and burdensome, including many secular duties.

answered: "The outward word would have been given us to no purpose if, being filled with the Spirit, we had no need of it." Elsewhere, with an experience which will find a ready response in Christian hearts of all times, he says: "Often we believe our conduct to be meritorious, but when we compare it with the Divine word we see at how great a distance we are from perfection."[1]

Again Gregory warns his hearers against expecting special revelations when in possession of the broad Gospel truth. A woman in a time of mental anguish wrote to him that she would give him no rest until he received a special revelation that her sins were forgiven. Gregory answered her, that he was unworthy of a special revelation, and referred her to the fountain of the Redeemer's mercy, set open for all, adding, "I know thou hast a fervid love to God, and I trust the word spoken by the lip of truth of another has also been spoken of thee: 'Her sins which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much.'"[2]

Like true Christian men in all ages, Gregory utterly disclaimed the false notion, that by the mere profession of sound doctrine, or by a zeal for religion, without holiness, a man can please God. To a certain bishop who boasted of the number of heretics he had converted, Gregory wrote: "I thank God that by thy instrumentality heretics

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[1] Neander, ibid. [2] Ibid., pp. 400, 401.

have been reclaimed to the Church; but thou must take care that those who are already in the Church, so live as not to rank amongst her enemies. For if they do not love what is godly, but serve earthly lusts, thou wilt be bringing up strange children in the bosom of the Church herself."[1] A.D. 604.

Very wisely does he write concerning miracles, leading the minds of his hearers from the visible to the invisible, from outward signs to the purpose and end of all miracles, the work of God in the heart of man. "When Paul came to Malta and saw the island full of unbelievers, he healed the father of Publius by his prayers; yet when Timothy was ill, he bade him drink no longer water, but use a little wine for his stomach's sake, and his often infirmities. How is it, O Paul, that thou miraculously restorest the sick unbeliever to health, and yet to thy fellow-labourer prescribest only natural remedies like a physician? Is it not because outward miracles have for their object, that souls should be conducted to the inward miracle? . . . In order for faith to grow, it must be nourished by miracle; as when we plant shrubs we pour water on them, till we see that they have taken firm root in the ground. The Church works now in a spiritual manner what it then effected through the Apostles in a bodily manner. When believers who have renounced the language of

[1] Ibid.

their former worldly life, cause holy truths to issue from their lips, what do they but 'speak with new tongues?' When they hear pernicious counsel, but are not carried away to commit evil deeds, do they not 'drink deadly poison, but it does not hurt them?' When they see their neighbours weak in righteousness and give them help, and strengthen them by their own example, what do they but 'lay their hand upon the sick so that they recover?' Strive after these miracles of love and piety, which are all the more sure as they are more hidden." [1]

That Gregory had a sense of the danger of resting too much on miracles, we may see by his letter to the monk Augustine in Britain. "But my beloved brother, there is something which along with thy great joy gives reason for much fear. Thou mayest rejoice that the souls of Englishmen have been led by outward miracles to inward grace, but thou ought to fear lest the miraculous works which have been performed should puff up thy own weak mind. . . . Examine thyself strictly, learn correctly what thou thyself art, as well as how the grace of God has shown itself amongst this people, for whose conversion thou hast received the power of working miracles. Consider this power not as conferred on thyself, but on those for whose salvation it has been given thee." [2]

[1] Ibid.

[2] Bede, b. i. c. xxxi.; Neander, ibid. 400, 401.

We conclude with a few more gems from the casket of Gregory's experience. A.D. 604.

Some men ostentatiously confess their faults, but when they are reproved for them, defend themselves, and protest their innocence. This kind of mock confession proves that they are not really humble, but seek only the merit of being reckoned so.

The greater progress saints make in the divine life, the more sensible are they of their own unworthiness; for in proportion as they draw near to the light their deformity is made manifest, and the better they become acquainted with holiness the more completely do they know and understand what sin is.

He who dispenses of his earthly substance to his destitute neighbour, but does not guard his own life from sin, is like a man who should offer the meaner gift to God, and keep the more valuable for the Evil One.

It is not enough that we renounce our property, we must come out of ourselves. We must renounce ourselves in that which we have made ourselves through sin, and keep ourselves in that which we have become through grace.

True prayer consists not in the words of the lips, but in the feelings of the heart; for our desires, not our words, fall as a sound of power on the secret ear of God. If we pray with our lips, but do not desire with our hearts, our calling upon God is only a silence; but if we desire with the fulness of our hearts, our very silence is a calling upon God.

Unlike the Oriental divines, Gregory would suffer no sacrifice of truth on any pretence. "It is not allowable," he says, "to make use of falsehood even to save life." [1]

[1] Ibid., pp. 401–404; and *Church History*, v. p. 206.

APPENDIX I.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

THE PAPACY.—The papal supremacy attained its full proportions, although not its full exercise of tyrannical power, in Gregory I. In our former work we traced its germ and the earlier stages of its development.[1]

Siricius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 384–398, was the first to issue a Letter (or Decretal) having the force of a law to the Catholic Church.[2] In 417, the Council of Carthage sent to Innocent I. its canons respecting the Pelagian controversy for his sanction. Innocent signified his satisfaction, and gave them to understand that, according to the sacred institutions of the Fathers, whatever was done even in the remotest provinces could not be complete until it had come to the knowledge of the Apostolic Chair. But the spirit of independence was not yet quite extinct. Notwithstanding the dictum of Innocent, the African Church resolved that no appeal against its jurisdiction should lie beyond the sea; and when his successor Zosimus fraudulently put forth some canons of the Council of Sardica as canons of the great Council of Nicæa, Augustine's friend Alypius exposed the deceit, and at the death of Zosimus the Council of Carthage addressed the new pope, Boniface, in words of bold and honest admonition: "Now that thou art seated on the throne of the Church of Rome, we hope we shall no more have to endure a worldly pride unworthy of the Church of Jesus Christ."[3]

But this was the last stroke struck for the independence of the Church. Leo I. might have paraphrased the words of Louis XIV., "*L'Église*, c'est moi." "He who disputes the primacy of the Apostle Peter will find himself powerless to lessen that dignity; but puffed up by the spirit of his own pride will plunge himself into hell." This assump-

[1] *Early Church History*, pp. 151, 458, 459.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 420, note 5.

[3] Cutts, *St. Augustine*, pp. 213–215.

IV.-IX. Cent.

tion on the part of Leo was endorsed by the youthful Emperor Valentinian III. By a decree of the year 445 he ordained: "The primacy of the Apostolic Seat being established by the merit of the Apostle Peter, the dignity of the City of Rome and the sanction of a holy synod, no pretended power shall arrogate to itself anything against the authority of that seat. For peace can be universally preserved only when the whole Church acknowledges its ruler." [1]

At the same time the personal holiness of the pope was declared, and he was exempted from the judgment of his fellow-men. Accordingly in 501, when Pope Symmachus was "accused of many horrible crimes," the bishops refused to sit in judgment upon him, because "the merit and primacy of St. Peter and the decrees of the holy councils had conferred a supreme power on the see of Rome, and it was a thing unheard of that the bishop of Rome should submit to be judged by his inferiors." Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, went further and declared that the pope had no need of reformation, because he who was promoted to this dignity was of necessity holy, and God would not suffer him to be corrupted.[2]

How succeeding popes not only maintained this assumed prerogative of holiness and of supremacy in the Church, but even waged wars, disposed of thrones, and set their feet on the necks of kings, is well known to all readers of history, and it will to some extent appear in the following pages.[3]

This brief notice of the growth of the papacy would be incomplete without a reference to the *Forged Decretals* of Isidore. These documents, which made their appearance in the ninth century, consisted partly of about one hundred

[1] Neander, iii. p. 246.

[2] Du Pin, v. pp. 9, 109.

[3] Gregory II. in the eighth century (A.D. 727) boasted to the Greek Emperor: "All the kings of the West reverence the pope as God on earth;" and Boniface VIII. (1294–1303) declared it to be essential to the salvation of every human being to be subject to the Roman pontiff.—Elliott, iii. pp. 187, 190. The title of pope was not exclusively applied to the bishop of Rome till about the year 521. The phrase Apostolic See seems to have been first used by Zosimus (417–419).—Roberts, p. 285, note.

letters purporting to be written by earlier bishops of Rome from the time of the Apostles, or by their correspondents, partly of the acts of certain unknown councils. For many centuries, even down to the Reformation, they were accepted as genuine notwithstanding gross anachronisms.[1] In these Decretals the privileges of the clergy, and especially of the bishops, are magnified, and the pope appears as the supreme head, law-giver, and judge of the Church, the universal bishop. There was, it is true, little or nothing new in the hierarchical pretensions here set forth; "the main outline of the papacy had been marked out four centuries earlier by Leo the Great; but the consolidation of the scattered fragments into one body, the representation of the later papal claims as having come down by unbroken tradition from the Apostolic times could not but produce a vast effect" in rendering the papal authority paramount in Europe.[2]

Principal Fairbairn has these pertinent remarks on the origin and growth of the Romish Church system: "The old Religion had its priesthood, the new had its clergy, and so these two were made parallel. Once they had been made parallel, it was necessary to do the same for the worships; and once they were assimilated, the New Testament ceased to fulfil the Old, the Old reigned in the New. And this is what Cyprian shows us; he represents the victory of the older Religion, the rejuvenescence of Judaism, the entrance of the hieratic idea into the Kingdom of Christ, changing it into a kingdom of priests. . . . The clergy became the Church, the Church the Religion, and the Religion a transformed Roman empire, with the pope for emperor, bishops for procurators, and the priesthood for the

[1] Persons are made to correspond with one another who lived centuries apart; Scripture is quoted in the words of Jerome's Vulgate some two hundred years before Jerome was born; complaint is made of the encroachment by laymen on Church property in language belonging to the period of Charles the Great.

[2] Robertson, ii. pp. 284-290.

magistrates and legionaries that levied the taxes, enforced the laws, upheld the unity, and maintained the peace of the civilized world. Papal infallibility is but imperial supremacy transfigured and spiritualized. The Catholic Church could not have been without Christianity, but still less could it have been without Roman imperialism. It owes its life to the one, but its distinctive organization to the other. . . . If the Church had passed the first five centuries of its existence under an Oriental despotism or amid free Greek cities, its structure had been altogether different. It seemed to vanquish the Empire, but the Empire by assimilating survived in it; the name was the name of Christ, but the form was the form of Cæsar." [1]

IV.–IX. Cent.

APPENDIX II.

Purgatory.—The doctrine of purgatory was in the former work traced back to its first appearance.[2] Roberts remarks that it "had its foundation in the dark bewilderment of pagan superstition, and was adopted by the priestcraft of the Romish Church to multiply masses and indulgences, and to set up the wicked notion of a treasury of superabundant merits disposable at the will of the pontiff." [3] He refers to a well-known passage in Plato's *Dialogue*, On the Immortality of the Soul. "When the dead arrive at the place to which their demon leads them, they are judged. Those who have passed a middle kind of life are taken to the river Acheron, where they embark and arrive at the Acherusian lake. Here they dwell until they are purified and have suffered punishment for their misdoings: then they are set free and receive the reward of their good deeds. Those who through the magnitude of their offences appear to be in-

[1] *Contemp. Rev.*, July, 1885, pp. 51, 54.

[2] *Early Church History*, pp. 495, 496.

[3] *Church Memorials*, p. 199, note.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

curable, are hurled into Tartarus, whence they never come forth. But those who have been guilty of curable yet great offences, such as homicide or violence through anger against father or mother, and who have lived the remainder of their life in a state of penitence, although they must of necessity fall into Tartarus, yet when they have been there a year, the wave casts them forth, and they are borne along to the lake, where they invoke those whom they have injured, and implore their permission to come forth. If they can persuade them, they are set free from their torments; if not, they are borne back to Tartarus and thence again to the rivers, and cannot be released until they have won over those whom they have injured. But those who have lived a truly pious life, being by death freed from these nether regions as from a prison, arrive at the pure abode above, and dwell in the utter parts of the earth. And amongst these, such as have thoroughly purified themselves by philosophy shall through all futurity exist in a disembodied state, and shall come to still more beautiful habitations which it is not easy to describe."[1] Plato is followed by Virgil, who thus describes the denizens of the nether world :—

"Nor death itself can wholly wash their stains;
But long contracted filth even in the soul remains.
The relics of inveterate vice they wear,
And spots of sin in every face appear.
For this are various penances enjoined;
And some are hung to bleach upon the wind,
Some plunged in waters, others purg'd in fires,
Till all the dregs are drain'd, and all the rust expires."

[1] *Phædo*, §§ 143–145.

[2] "Quin et supremo cùm lumine vita reliquit:
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditùs omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitùsque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto,
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni."

—*Æneid*, b. vi. 735–742.

The notion of a purgatory seems to have existed only as a floating superstition till the end of the sixth century,[1] when Pope Gregory gave it consistency as an expiation for venial sins. "During the long night of the Middle Ages it passed through all the distortions by which a distempered credulity could vary its aspect;" but it was not definitively "settled until the Council of Trent pronounced it to be an article of faith, having the warrant of infallibility and the penalty of a curse to enforce its acceptance."[2] VI.–XVI. Cent.

APPENDIX III.

INDULGENCES.—Penance and penitential works, varying with the gravity of the offence, were imposed by the Church as a satisfaction for sin. The duration of the former was much lengthened out, sometimes extending far beyond the term of human life (!), and the latter were found to be intolerable to a carnal and ease-loving people. The desire to find an easier way, and the ever increasing demands of the Church for money, gave rise to the system of indulgences by which transgressors might buy off their penalties. The bishops first made use of this base expedient, but the Roman pontiffs, perceiving what great gains were to be derived from the practice, especially when the enormous expenses of the Crusades had to be met, took from the bishops the power to remit ecclesiastical penalties, and declared that this prerogative belonged only to the successors of Peter. Accordingly they began to publish the absolute and plenary remission of all penalties for sin, not temporal only, but also purgatorial, which the bishops had never attempted to set aside. To

[1] Gregory Nazianzen speaks of the baptism of fire by which men may have to be purged in a future life, but Chrysostom says: "No mercy is to be looked for after death, but only severe justice; there is no middle place between hell and Heaven."—Du Pin, ii. p. 170: iii. p. 48.

[2] Roberts, p. 250, note.

Per. III. Chap. 1.

support this pretension, a new doctrine was invented in the twelfth century, and brought to perfection by Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth, namely, that there exists in the Church an immense treasure of good works, wrought by holy men *over and above what duty required*, and that the pope, the keeper and dispenser of this treasure, is able, out of this inexhaustible fund, to transfer to every man an amount of good works sufficient to counterbalance his sins.[1]

From this time the sale of indulgences became a regular part of the great and lucrative commerce carried on by Rome. In Wicliffe's time, for example, a Roman cardinal did a large traffic in England in this way. "There was no grace which he would not sell, none which he would grant without money. His men grew so wanton that they disdained silver and would take nothing but gold. He carried off in his bags more than a year's taxes of the realm."[2] The doings of Tetzel which helped to bring forth Luther are well known. Wherever he went he set up a cross, produced a strong box, mounted a pulpit, and harangued the people: "Indulgences are the most precious and sublime of God's gifts. I will give you letters duly sealed, by which

[1] Mosheim, ii. pp. 481, 482; Gieseler, ii. p. 442.

[2] Milman, vi. pp. 123, 124. Another papal legate named Martin, in the time of Henry III., did not fare so well as the cardinal, notwithstanding England was then called "The Pope's Farm." Fulk Fitz-Warrenne suddenly appeared before him, and with a stern look said: "Arise, get thee forth. Depart at once from England!" "In whose name dost thou speak?" "In the name of the barons of England; if thou art not gone in three days, thou and thine shall be cut in pieces." The priest escaped with difficulty.—Id. iv. p. 427. Wicliffe himself declares that indulgences are mere forgeries, whereby the priesthood "rob men cursedly of their money; a subtle merchandise of Anti-Christ's clerks, whereby they magnify their own fictitious power, and, instead of causing men to dread sin, encourage men to wallow therein as hogs."—Elliott, *Horæ Apocalyp.*, ii. p. 17, note. "The people is brought in by these feigned indulgences for to believe that they shall have more merit to give their goods to rich prelates (for such suffrages), than to give them to the poor men, which thing Christ commanded."—*Remonstrance to the People of England* [probably by John Purvey]. A.D. 1395, ed. Forshall. 1851. p. 58.

even the sins you shall hereafter desire to commit shall be all forgiven you. Even repentance is not indispensable. More than all, Indulgences save not the living only, but the dead. Priests, nobles, tradesmen, wives, maidens, young men, hearken to your departed parents and friends who cry to you from the bottomless pit, 'We are enduring horrible torment, a small alms will deliver us.' The very moment the money clinks against the bottom of the box, the soul escapes from purgatory, and flies free to heaven. Dull man, with ten groschen thou canst deliver thy father from purgatory, and art thou so ungrateful as not to rescue him? Our Lord God no longer deals with us as God, He has given all power to the pope." He was accustomed to conclude his discourse by thrice calling on the people: "Bring your money, bring money, bring money!" bellowing out this cry, says Luther, like a wild bull. Then he came down the steps of the pulpit, ran to the strong box, and threw in a piece of silver with a loud sound.[1]

XII.-XVI. Cent.

[1] D'Aubigné, *Hist. of the Reformation*, i. pp. 251–254.

CHAPTER II.

Christianity in Britain.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

Section I. The early history of the British Church is very obscure. The facts relating to it, which are known with any degree of certainty, may be enumerated in a few lines. By the end of the second century the Gospel had spread through the southern parts of the island and had begun to penetrate "beyond the Roman pale;"[1] but the legend of St. Alban, who is reputed to have suffered martyrdom in the Diocletian persecution, rests upon scanty evidence. In the reign of Constantine, three British bishops attended the Council of Arles, A.D. 314. Bishops from Britain are again met with at the Council of Sardica (347), and at that of Rimini (359), where a large number were present and subscribed the Semi-Arian Creed. At the end of the same century we read of Ninyas, a Welsh missionary, preaching to the Picts in Galloway. He is said to have been educated at Rome, and on his way homeward to have visited Martin of Tours,

[1] See *Early Church History*, pp. 197, 545. The famous Glastonbury legend of Joseph of Arimathea and the Sacred Thorn is not older than the eleventh century.—Jennings, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, p. 5.

who ordained him to his missionary work, and whose name he gave to the church of his new bishopric in Galloway.[1] About the same time Paula and Eustochium speak of pilgrims from Britain who came to visit the holy places at Bethlehem.[2]

In the year 409 the Romans abandoned the island; and between this date and the landing of the Jutes (449), the Pelagian heresy was introduced into Britain, as Bede relates, by a bishop named Agricola, and the British Churches, unable by themselves to refute the subtle arguments of the preacher, sought the aid of the bishops of Gaul. Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were accordingly sent to them, and overthrew the heretical teachers in a conference at St. Albans, A.D. 429. Germanus returned hither eighteen years afterwards to complete the spiritual victory.[3]

From the time of the Saxon invasion we hear little more of the British Churches. In Gaul, Italy and other countries of the Empire, the conquerors adopted the religion as well as the language and manners of the conquered, but in England the case was widely different. The conquest of the

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[1] Ibid.; Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, b. iii. c. 4. There still survives on a lonely hill the contemporary grave-stone of some who would seem to have been the companions of Ninyas.—Stanley's *Early Christianity of Northumbria*, p. 9. Being built of stone, the church was called the White House, and is identified by tradition with Whithorn in Wigtonshire.—*Student's Eccles. Hist.*, ii. p. 504; Robertson, i. p. 490.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 277.

[3] Bede, b. i. cc. 17–21.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

country by the Saxons, which it took a century or two of hard fighting to accomplish, ended in the complete subversion both of Roman civilization and of Christianity, and in the substitution alike of the political life and the idolatry of the Germans. Bede's harrowing picture of the Saxon ravages may perhaps have gained something in colouring by the lapse of three centuries. "They plundered the cities and country, marking their course by flames from one sea to the other, and spreading themselves over almost every part of the island. Public and private buildings were alike destroyed; the priests were murdered at the altars; the bishops and their people were indiscriminately put to the sword, until there was none to bury them. Some of the wretched remnant were seized on the mountains and butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, surrendered themselves and submitted to perpetual slavery for the sake of food. Some sorrowfully made for regions beyond the sea; others remained behind to lead in perpetual trembling and anxiety a hard and precarious life among the forests and mountains." Those whom Bede describes as fleeing "beyond the sea" found refuge in Armorica;[1] those who became serfs to the conquerors gradually forgot their Christianity; while such as maintained their independence in the unconquered fastnesses of Cornwall, Wales, or

[1] Brittany and part of Normandy.

Cumberland, although they preserved their religion, lost their Roman civilization and the use of the Latin tongue. Thus Britain was withdrawn from the Roman world and until the mission of Augustine was regarded as a land of mystery and fable.[1] A.D. circ. 372.

One episode, however, pregnant of future blessing to Europe, belongs to the annals of the British Church previous to the Saxon conquest. The ray of historical light which reveals to us Ninyas preaching to the southern Picts, at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries, falls also on the village of Bonaven, now Kilpatrick, in Dumbartonshire. Here was born near the year 372, Patrick, called in his native tongue Succath. His father was a deacon, and appears also to have held some office in connection with the northern Roman Wall. He gave his son a good education. But the youth lived on light-hearted from day to day, without personal interest in religion, until in his seventeenth year the course of his life was rudely interrupted.[2]

Some pirates of the wild tribes of the Scots, who then inhabited the north of Ireland, landed upon the coast and carried him and a multitude of

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[1] Bede, b. i. c. 15; Robertson, i. p. 492. "The effacement of Christianity in England," remarks Jennings, "may be regarded as complete when bishops Theonas of London and Theodiscus of York are said to have joined their fugitive compatriots in the Western asylum."—*Eccles. Anglicana*, p. 14.

[2] Neander, *Church History*, iii. p. 172; and *Memorials*, p. 425; *Student' Eccles. Hist.*, i. pp. 505, 506.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

others away as captives. Patrick was sold to a chieftain who made him keeper of his flocks and herds. Affliction led him to seek God, of whom in the days of youthful ease and liberty he had been unmindful. Abandoned on earth, he found consolation and happiness from above; and as he wandered about with his cattle he enjoyed heavenly communion in prayer and quiet meditation. Let us hear his own words written at a later period of his life: "I was about sixteen years old and knew nothing of the true God, until, in captivity, He opened my unbelieving heart, so that, though late, I thought of my sins and turned to Him with my whole soul. And He who preserved me before I could distinguish between good and evil, and watched over me as a Father, looked down on my lowly condition and had compassion on my youth and ignorance. Before He humbled me I was like a stone sunk in the mire, but when He who had power came, He raised me in his mercy and set me on a very high place. For which cause I must testify aloud in order to make some return for such inestimable blessings both in time and eternity. The fear and love of God," he continues, "was kindled in me; faith grew, so that I prayed often, one day offering a hundred prayers, and at night almost as many, and when I passed the night in the woods or on the mountains, I rose up to pray before daybreak in the snow, ice and rain. Yet I felt no suffering, nor was there any

sluggishness in me, such as I now find, for then the Spirit glowed within me." [1] A.D. circ. 400.

After spending six years in the service of this chief, Patrick believed he heard a voice in his sleep which promised him a speedy return to his native land, and not many nights afterwards announced to him that a vessel was ready to take him. In dependence on this call he set out, and at the end of some days met with a ship on the point of sailing. At first the captain would not receive the poor unknown youth. Patrick fell on his knees and began to pray, and ere he had finished the captain relenting, sent one of the sailors to call him. Through many sufferings and deliverances he at length reached his home. Ten years afterwards he was a second time taken prisoner by Scottish pirates, and was now carried to Gaul, whence the charity of Christian merchants again restored him to his native land, to the great joy of his parents.[2]

But Patrick could not rest at home; he felt an irresistible call to carry the message of salvation to the people amongst whom he had passed his youth, and been born again to the heavenly life. As Paul was directed by the Lord to go over to Macedonia, so Patrick deemed he received a heavenly summons to preach the Gospel to the people of Ireland. A man from that country ap-

[1] Neander, *Memorials*, pp. 425, 426.

[2] Ibid.; and *Church History*, iii. p. 173.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

peared to him in a dream, giving him a letter superscribed, "The words of the Irish;" and as Patrick read it, he seemed to hear the simultaneous voices of many crying: "We beseech thee, child of God, come and again walk among us!" His feelings would not allow him to read further, and he awoke. Another night he heard a voice from Heaven, the last words of which were intelligible,—"He who gave his life for thee, He speaks in thee." He awoke full of joy. A third time he dreamed, and it was as though there was something within him and yet above him, praying with deep sighs. When he awoke he called to mind the Apostle's words: "The Spirit also helpeth our infirmity, for we know not how to pray as we ought, but the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered."[1]

His parents and friends strove to keep him from his purpose. "Many opposed my going, and said behind my back, 'Why does he rush into danger among the heathen who do not know the Lord?' Gifts were offered to me with tears if I would remain at home; but I did not yield; God overcame in me and withstood them all. How," he exclaims, "should so great and blessed a favour be bestowed upon me, to know and love God, and to leave my parents and native land, and go to the people of

[1] Romans viii. 26; Neander, *Memorials*, pp. 426, 427.

Ireland to publish the Gospel, and suffer insults and persecution even to bonds! Moreover if I am found worthy I am also ready to give up my life with joy for his name's sake." Before commencing his missionary work Patrick went again to Gaul, the better to prepare himself by intercourse with pious priests and monks.[1] A.D. 431.

His knowledge of the language enabled him to preach with great readiness to the people. By the sound of a kettle-drum he collected large assemblies in the open air, to whom he declared the sufferings of the Saviour for sinful humanity; and the word of the Cross reached the witness for God in the hearts of many. He met indeed with much opposition, for the Druid priests and national bards whose influence was great, stirred up the people against him. But he conquered by steadfastness of faith, by glowing zeal, and by the attractive power of love. His influence over men's minds is seen in the following instance. Coming in the course of his journeys to the house of a man of rank, his message was received and the whole family were baptized. But one of the sons, not contented merely to profess the Gospel, clave to the Gospel messenger, and in spite of all the efforts of his friends, he forsook all to accompany Patrick in his toils and dangers. On account of the youth's gentle disposition, he received the

[1] Ibid., pp. 427, 428; and *Church History*, iii. p. 173.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

name of Benignus, and his sweet voice was used to influence the people by the singing of hymns. At Patrick's death Benignus became one of his successors in the pastoral office. Many of the national bards were converted by his means, and lips which had been accustomed to rehearse Druidical couplets, now sang the folly of idolatry and the praises of God and Christ.[1]

Patrick sought especially the conversion of the chiefs. These when they allowed themselves to be stirred up by the priests against the new religion, could do much harm; but when they embraced the Gospel, their example formed a counterpoise to the reverence felt for the Druids. Young men of the lower rank who seemed fitted for the ministry were by him educated as teachers. He also received and protected slaves who fled to him from the harsh treatment of their owners.[2]

Patrick was watchful against spiritual pride. After speaking in one of his letters of the miracles which God had enabled him to perform, he adds: "But let no one on account of such things suppose that I place myself on an equality with the Apostles, or the perfected saints, for I am a poor, sinful, despicable man. Be astonished, ye who fear God, both small and great, and ye eloquent talkers who know nothing of the Lord, understand and examine who it is who has called a simple person

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[1] *Memorials*, ibid.

[2] Id., pp. 428, 429.

like me to serve with fear and trembling, yet faithfully and blamelessly, the people to whom the love of Christ has led me." He avoided even the semblance of seeking his own glory or profit. When many brought gifts out of gratitude to him as their spiritual father, and pious women offered him their ornaments, he refused them all, whilst he himself gave presents to the heathen chiefs (one of whom had plundered and imprisoned him), in order to secure peace for his flock, and to ransom Christians from captivity.[1] A.D. circ. 431–461.

After labouring thirty years he thus addressed his converts: "I call God to witness that I seek not honour from you. May He never suffer me to lose the Church which He has won in this remote corner of the earth. I pray that He will count me worthy to persevere in a faithful testimony until the time of my departure, and that I may be permitted to shed my blood for his name, with my converts who are in prison, even though my body should obtain no burial, or be torn in pieces by wild beasts. For beyond a doubt we shall rise again with the glory of the Redeemer Jesus Christ, for we shall reign by Him, and through Him, and with Him. The visible sun rises daily for our benefit according to God's command, but its splendour will not endure for ever; all the unhappy beings who worship it will suffer punishment. But we wor-

[1] Id., pp. 430–432.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

ship Christ, the true Sun who will never set; and he likewise who does his will shall never set, but shall live for ever."[1]

Patrick often desired to re-visit his native country, but could never find opportunity to leave his work. "I am bound," he says, "by the Holy Spirit, who will not hold me guiltless if I leave the work I have begun, and I am in fear also lest it should fall to the ground."[2]

The Catholic legend of Patrick's journey to Rome, A.D. 432, where he was ordained by Pope Sixtus III. as missionary to Ireland, is unsupported by historical evidence. Like Ulfilas with the Goths, Patrick is said to have taught the Irish the use of letters. After his death his disciples carried on his labours in the spirit of their master. The Scriptures were studied, books were collected, and the monasteries became schools of missionaries, so that the country acquired the title of "The Island of the Saints."[3] In the succeeding century the grateful Church sent back to Scotland the Gospel which she had received from thence. The leader in this work was an abbot of royal race named Columba, or as he was called while still a child, from his diligent attendance at public worship,

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[1] Id., pp. 432, 433.

[2] Id., pp. 433, 434.

[3] Neander, *Church History*, iii. pp. 174, 175: v. p. 12. It is possible, however, that this appellation, in Greek ἱερὰ νῆσος, hiera nēsos (*holy island*), is only a corruption of the native name Eri, or Erin.—*Stud. Eccles. Hist.*, i. p. 507, note 4.

Columkille (the dove of the Church). He crossed over to North Britain in a wicker boat with a small band of monks about the year 563, and established himself in the little island of Iona, called after him I-colm-kill, now part of Argyleshire. In the course of his missionary journeys he passed over the Grampians to preach to the northern Picts ; and he died in 596, the very year in which the monk Augustine set out from Rome for the conversion of England. The monastery which Columba founded at Iona, and over which he presided thirty years, attained a wide reputation and became the centre of religious life to the whole land of the Picts. There Biblical and other studies, according to the standard of those early days, were carried on. Its abbots had the control and guidance of the bordering tribes and churches, and even exercised authority over bishops.[1] A.D. 461-596.

Whilst the Gospel was thus taking root in Ireland, and extending its beneficent influence to Scotland, the original British Church, which survived in the fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall, would seem, if we may trust the invectives of Gildas,[2] to have fallen into a worldly condition.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 507, 508 ; Neander, ibid.

[2] *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 211. Gildas, a British or Irish Church writer, probably of the sixth century, but whose history is very obscure, writes thus in his epistle addressed to the Britons: "Britain hath clerks, but many of them are deceitful raveners; shepherds who are rather wolves prepared for the slaughter of souls. Instructing the laity, they are withal examples of the most depraved vices and manners. Despising

Per. III. Chap. 2.

Nevertheless the Welsh clergy in the sixth century, in the events to be presently related, showed signs of religious life still existing amongst them.

Section II. Such was the state of Christianity in these islands when Pope Gregory the Great undertook the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. The British and the Irish Church had alike sprung up independent of Rome, and the latter had prospered and had embarked on the aggressive work of the Gospel with little help, and with no control, from the Roman clergy. But neither the Welsh Britons, nor the missionaries of Ireland and Iona, had made, so far as we know, any attempt to teach the religion of Jesus to the rugged, warlike, freedom-loving Saxons. This triumph was reserved for Rome.

The incident which led to it is well known. Gregory the Great, before he became pope, saw in the forum at Rome some handsome boys fair-skinned and with beautiful hair exposed for sale. He inquired whence they came. "From the island of Britain." "Are they Christians?" "They are still pagans." "Alas!" he exclaimed, fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart, "that the prince of darkness should possess such bright faces, that such grace of countenance should be devoid of inward grace! Of what nation are they?" "Angles." "Right," said he, "for they have the

Christ's commandments, they fulfil their own lusts."—Dr. Bright, *Early English Church History*, p. 29; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, ii. p. 670.

faces of angels, and ought to be co-heirs with the angels in heaven. What is the name of their province?" "The people of that province are called Deiri." "Right," he said again, still punning on the answers he received, "they must be rescued *de irâ* (*from the wrath to come*), and won to the mercy of Christ. What is the name of their king?" "Ælla." "Alleluia! Praise unto God the Creator must there be sung."[1] A.D. circ. 590.

From that moment Gregory resolved upon the conversion of Britain. Unable, as we have seen, to enter upon the work in person, he sent forth as soon after his accession to the papal chair as the distracted state of Italy would permit, Augustine, provost of his monastery in Rome, accompanied by forty monks. On their journey through Gaul, as they communed together, they became alarmed at the danger of the enterprise. The Saxon people were idolators, a fierce and barbarous nation, and their language strange; it would be folly to proceed, the only safe course was to return home. Accordingly they sent Augustine back to Rome humbly to entreat the pope to release them from

[1] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, b. ii. c. 1 (Giles). "It may well be doubted," remarks Philip Smith, "whether this scene belongs to the real history or to the legends of Gregory's life. (1) The elaborate play on words suggests a suspicion that the story is rather *ben trovato* than *vero*. (2) Bede does not relate it in its place as part of the history of the mission, but brings it in after as an episode. (3) The very words in which he introduces and dismisses the story seem to mark it as derived from those legendary histories of Gregory which were popular in England, rather than from the authentic records copied for Bede at Canterbury and Rome." —*Stud. Eccles. Hist.*, i. p. 495, note 2.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

so perilous a service. But Gregory was not to be turned aside from his purpose by their fears. He wrote to them: "Gregory, the servant of the servants of God, to the servants of our Lord. It had been better not to begin the good work than to think of desisting from that which has been begun. Let not the toil of the journey nor the tongues of evil men deter you; but with all possible earnestness and zeal perform that which by God's direction you have undertaken, being assured that great labour is followed by a greater glory of eternal reward." [1]

Pursuing their way, they landed at Ebbesfleet on the Isle of Thanet, A.D. 597. The Gospel was not altogether unknown in Kent. King Ethelbert's wife Bertha, daughter of the Frankish king Charibert, was a Christian, and had brought with her a bishop who held divine service in an old British church outside the walls of Canterbury. The king, on receiving a message from Augustine, went down to the shore to meet him, and setting his throne in the open air for fear of magical arts, ordered the missionaries to be brought into his presence. They advanced in solemn procession, Augustine, "the dark-haired swarthy man, higher than any of the rest from his shoulders and upwards," at their head, preceded by a silver cross and the figure of our Lord

[1] Bede, b. i. c. 23.

painted on a board. As they drew near, they chanted their litanies for the salvation of the king and his people. When he had heard their message Ethelbert said: "Your words and offers are fair, but as they are new to me and as yet unproved, I cannot forsake at once the faith of my nation which I have so long followed." Nevertheless he permitted them to reside in his chief city of Canterbury, entertained them hospitably, and allowed them to preach and make converts. The austere life of the monks, their fastings, vigils, prayers and preaching, the courageous trust in God which they exhibited, and perhaps above all their miracles made a powerful impression on the rude people. By direction of the pope, Augustine went to Arles to be ordained archbishop of the English nation, and on his return to Canterbury he found the work had made such rapid progress that at the first Christmas festival the king himself and ten thousand converts were baptized. The ceremony took place in the channel which divides the Isle of Sheppey from the mainland.[1] A.D. 597.

Wishing to show Augustine the greatest possible honour, Ethelbert gave up to him his own palace in Canterbury, with the Roman-British church in the neighbourhood for his cathedral, adding such lands and possessions as were deemed necessary to support the newly-founded see. Thus Roman

[1] Ibid., c. 25; Milman, ii. pp. 57, 58; *Stud. Eccles. Hist.*, i. pp. 496, 497; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, i. p. 55.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

Christianity became at once the established State religion in the dominions of the king of Kent. This example was followed in time by all the other kingdoms. "Everywhere the bishop's throne was set up side by side with the king's, the king*dom* of the one became the bishop*ric*[1] of the other; the bishops sat in the Council of the Wise Men [Witten-agemote] as equal with the Ealdermen [the rank next to the king]; the clergy ranked with the thanes; the laws of the Church were laws of the State;" the union of Church and State was complete. Outside the walls of Canterbury, Augustine erected a Benedictine abbey, afterwards called by his name, which became the parent seat of learning in England.[2]

The form of Christianity thus brought to our forefathers was ritualistic and corrupt, yet was it a gift of incalculable value. The coin had been debased by no small mixture of alloy, but the gold was still there, and it still bore the Saviour's image. The lamp of truth burnt with a flickering light, yet it was infinitely better than the heathen darkness which it made manifest.[3]

At first it was Gregory's purpose to have the

[1] The Saxon word *rice* or *ric* signifies jurisdiction; it forms part of the name Surrey, south-*rice* or south-*rige*.

[2] Bede, b. i. c. 26; *Stud. Eccles. Hist.*, i. pp. 497–499.

[3] "The Saxons were the fiercest of the Teutonic race. On the rude manners of the barbarian tribes had been engrafted the sanguinary and brutalizing habits of the pirate. Their religion was as cruel as their manners; they are said to have sacrificed a tenth of their principal captives on the altars of their gods."—Milman, ii. p. 72.

idol temples of the Saxons destroyed, but afterwards, when a fresh band of missionaries under abbot Mellitus was sent to reinforce Augustine, Gregory directed that the idols only should be removed, and that those temples which were substantially built should be suffered to remain. Sprinkled with holy water, and sanctified by altars and relics, they were to be converted into churches. Like Gregory Thaumaturgus,[1] the pope even thought it expedient to humour the ignorant people in their ancient pagan practices. "Because," so he wrote to Mellitus, "they have been used to slay many oxen in sacrifice to devils, let the same solemnities be continued with a new direction, so that on the day of the dedication, or the nativities of the holy martyrs, they may build huts of the boughs of trees round the transmuted temples, keep a religious feast and slay and eat their cattle to the praise of God, returning thanks to the Giver of all things. In this way, whilst some of their old gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more readily attain unto inward joy. For it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds; he who would ascend to the highest place must rise by degrees."[2]

A.D. 597–601.

[1] See *Early Church History*, pp. 498, 499.

[2] Bede, b. i. c. 30. Roberts suggests that the custom of bringing deer at a certain season into St. Paul's church, London, and laying them on the altar, was a relic of this indulgence; it was abolished at the Reformation.—*Church Memorials*, p. 196, note.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

At the same time the pope wrote to Ethelbert: "Bishop Gregory, to the most glorious lord and my most excellent son Ethelbert, King of the English. . . . Guard carefully the grace which thou hast received from God, and hasten to promote the Christian faith among thy people. Increase thy zeal for their conversion; edify them by great purity of life; exhort, terrify, soothe, correct, that thou mayst find thy Rewarder in heaven. For so Constantine, our most pious Emperor, recovering the Roman commonwealth from the perverse worship of idols, subjected the same with himself to our Almighty God and Lord Jesus Christ, and thus transcended in fame former princes. . . . Willingly hear, devoutly perform, and studiously retain in memory whatsoever you shall be advised by our most reverend brother bishop Augustine, who is instructed in the monastic rule, filled with the knowledge of Holy Scripture, and by the help of God endued with good works; for if you give ear to him in what he speaks for God, God will the sooner hear him praying for you. . . . I have sent some small presents which will not seem inconsiderable when accompanied by the blessing of the holy Apostle Peter."[1]

Essex quickly followed Kent in receiving the Gospel, and London, then within its bounds, was

[1] Bede, b. i. c. 32.

made an episcopal see, Mellitus being appointed the first bishop. During Augustine's lifetime Christianity made no further progress in Saxon England. A.D. 597–604.

Section III. "The British Church secluded in the fastnesses of Wales could not but hear of the arrival of the Romish missionaries, and of their success in the conversion of the Saxons. Augustine and his followers could not but inquire with deep interest concerning their Christian brethren in the remote parts of the island." But when they found that the practices of the British Churches differed in some particulars from those of Rome, sympathy was changed into coldness and suspicion. His narrow monastic education, if not his natural character, had unfitted Augustine to deal with an independent Church. One of his letters to Gregory asking his advice on some dubious points of discipline is still extant. Both his questions and the pope's replies exhibit in a strong light the weakness and even the childishness of the monastic system. Nevertheless the pope shows a moderation and good sense which Augustine would have done well to imitate. "Thou knowest, brother, the custom of the Roman Church in which thou wert bred. But I direct that if thou hast found anything either in the Roman, Gallican or any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, thou

Per. III. Chap. 2.

shalt carefully choose the same, and teach it to the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith. 'For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things.'" [1] Unhappily Augustine acted in an entirely opposite spirit. He believed the Roman discipline to be perfect, and regarded every deviation from it as heretical; and he aspired to nothing less than the subjection of the whole island to the "Apostolic" see.[2]

Having received their Christianity before the settlement of the Roman ritual and hierarchy, the Britons pursued a different practice on several points. Their mode of baptism was different; their observance of Easter was otherwise regulated; they differed in their monastic rules, and in the form of tonsure of the priests; and, much more important, marriage was allowed to their clergy. Of these divergences, the time of keeping Easter seems, strange to say, to have taken the leading place in the minds of the Italian monks.[3]

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[1] Ibid., c. 27; Milman, ii. p. 60.

[2] Gregory and Augustine had already anticipated the spiritual conquest of Britain, and had planned a second metropolitan see at York, which, like Canterbury, was to be the centre of twelve bishoprics.—Milman, ii. p. 58.

[3] Gieseler, ii. p. 164, 165; Neander, v. pp. 21, 22. As to the tonsure, the Roman clergy shaved the crown of the head, leaving a circle of hair, in imitation of the crown of thorns. They called this St. Peter's tonsure, pretending that the apostle was so shorn in memory of our Lord's passion. The British priests shaved the fore-part of the head as far as the ears, in the form of a crescent which was called by their adversaries the tonsure of Simon Magus.—Bede, b. v. c. 21. There was a third fashion, the Greek ton-

A.D. 597–604.

The Britons were not indeed, as the Eastern Churches had been, Quarto-decimanians; they did not, following the Jewish mode of reckoning, keep our Lord's Crucifixion and Resurrection according to the day of the month, regardless of the day of the week.[1] But a new and more accurate method of computing Easter had not long been introduced, and had not yet reached Britain.[2] Rome herself had been late in accepting the new calendar, having until within three-quarters of a century observed the same rule as that still followed by the British Churches.[3] Everything must needs however be sacrificed to the idol of uniformity and of Roman supremacy.

Augustine sent a message to the British clergy, demanding that they should lay aside their own practices and observe in all respects the Roman discipline. Dinooth, abbot of their great monastery at Bangor,[4] unable to comprehend such an

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sure, which was referred to the Apostle Paul as its author, and consisted in shaving, or rather closely clipping, the whole head.—Robertson, ii. p. 73, note.

[1] See *Early Church History*, pp. 169–172, 420.

[2] The new cycle was improved and settled by Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth century. It is to him also that we owe the practice of dating events from the birth of our Saviour, thus looking upon this event as the grand "turning-point" of history.—Schaff, p. 354.

[3] Jennings, pp. 17, 18. Several times towards the end of the fifth century Easter was kept in different weeks by the Greek and Roman Churches.—Ibid.

[4] Bangor signifies *the sacred circle*. There were no fewer than sixteen places so named in Wales. This is supposed to be Bangor-Iscoed, now Bangor, on the Dee, five miles east of Ruabon.—Hook, i. p. 71, note. There

Per. III. Chap. 2.

assumption of authority, answered: "We are all ready to listen to the Church of God, to the pope of Rome and to every pious Christian, and to show perfect love to each, according to his station, upholding him by word and deed. We know not that any other obedience can be required of us towards him whom you call 'the Father of Fathers.'" [1]

At King Ethelbert's suggestion the Britons were invited to a conference with Augustine and his clergy. They met, A.D. 601 or 602, on the banks of the Severn in Gloucestershire, the confines of the kingdom of Wessex. The conference was held under an oak, afterwards known as Augustine's oak.[2] It was not to be expected that the parties should come to an agreement. On the one side were unreasonable demands urged with inflexible rigour and haughtiness; on the other there was the consciousness of right, supported by an ancient spirit of independence. "When," says Bede, "after a long disputation, the Britons manifested no compliance with the entreaties and rebukes of Augustine and his companions, but preferred

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was another monastery of Bangor, viz., in the north of Ireland.—See below, p. 206.

[1] Neander, ibid.

[2] Not improbably near the present Aust Passage, anciently Aust Clive (Southern Cliffs). This was the lowest ferry on the Severn, and is several times mentioned in the Civil Wars as the landing-place of troops coming from Chepstow. In 1375 the prebend of Aust was given by King Edward III. to Wicliffe.—Atkyn's *Gloucestershire*, p. 477; Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*.

their own traditions to the consensus of all the Churches in the world, the holy father Augustine, to put an end to this tedious contention, said: 'Let us pray to God for a heavenly sign to direct us which tradition to follow. Let some infirm person be produced, and let us see by whose prayers he shall be made whole.'" The British unwillingly consented; a blind man, an Anglo-Saxon, was brought, and presented to the Welsh clergy, who prayed over him in vain. Augustine then knelt and prayed, and immediately the blind man was restored to sight.[1] Still the Britons did not yield; they declared they could do nothing without the consent of a larger number of their clergy. Their seven bishops accordingly came together, with learned men from the monastery of Bangor.[2] But before they ventured to renew the conference, they consulted a hermit whom they held in great veneration. The good man said they might follow Augustine if he were a man of God. "But how," they asked, "are we to know whether he is such?"

A.D. circ. 601.

[1] Dr. Hook is of opinion that no such transaction as the above ever occurred. "That Bede related faithfully the tradition of the Church of Canterbury no one doubts; but the event recorded took place some time between the years 600 and 605. Bede finished his history in 731. . . . If we read his narrative attentively, the account of the miracle looks like an interpolation. He does indeed say that the Britons confessed that it was the true way of righteousness which Augustine taught; but the statement is contradicted by the fact that he does not name a single Briton who became a convert to Augustine's opinion. . . . I treat the whole statement as a mere 'Canterbury tale.'"—Vol. i. pp. 68, 69.

[2] The bishoprics were Menevia or St. David's, Llandaff, Llanbadarn, Bangor, and St. Asaph; with perhaps Gloucester; the seventh spoken of by Bede is unknown.—Ibid., p. 71.

Per. III. Chap. 2.

"If," replied the hermit, "he is meek and lowly of heart, he bears the yoke of Christ and offers it to you; but if he is stern and proud, he is not of God, and we may disregard his words." "But how," they asked again, "shall we discern this?" "Let the Romans," said the hermit, "arrive first at the place of meeting, and if on your approach the man shall rise from his seat to receive you, hear him submissively, for he is the servant of Christ; but if he despises you and remains seated, do you also despise him." Augustine, as they drew near, kept his seat; upon which the Britons charged him with pride, and contradicted all he said. "If," answered Augustine, "you will comply with me in three points—keep Easter duly, administer baptism according to the practice of the holy Roman Apostolic Church, and join us in preaching the word of the Lord to the English,—we will tolerate all your other divergences from our customs." They replied that they would consent to none of those things nor receive him as their archbishop. The stern tones of the Roman monk close the interview. "As you will not have peace with brethren, you shall have war from foes; and as you will not preach unto the English the way of life, you shall suffer at their hands the vengeance of death."[1]

"All which," adds Bede, his gentle heart steeled

[1] Bede, b. ii. c. 2; Neander, v. pp. 22, 23; Milman, ii. pp. 60, 61 Hook, *loc. cit.*

by religious bigotry, "all which through the Divine judgment fell out as Augustine had predicted. The warlike king of the Angles, Ethelfrid, having raised a mighty army, made a vast slaughter of that perfidious nation at the city of Caerleon.[1] Being about to give battle, he observed standing apart in a place of safety, a great company of priests and monks, who having fasted three days were come to offer prayers to God for their people. 'Although they are unarmed,' he said, 'yet if they cry to their God against us, it is the same as if they fought against us; let them be first attacked.' Twelve hundred are said to have fallen, only fifty saving themselves by flight. Thus," concludes Bede's narrative, "was fulfilled the prediction of the holy bishop Augustine that these perfidious men should feel the vengeance of temporal death, because they had despised the offer of eternal salvation."[2] A.D. 597–604.

The relation between the Roman and the British Churches is thus summed up by our quaint historian Fuller. "Augustine found here a plain religion (simplicity is the badge of antiquity) practised by the Britons; living some of them in the contempt, and many more in the ignorance of worldly vanities. He brought in a religion, spun with a coarser thread, though guarded with a finer trim-

[1] Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, the chief city of Wales (Britannia Secunda) under the Romans. But according to Moberly (ed. Bedæ, 1869) it was Chester.

[2] Bede, *loc. cit.*

ming; made luscious to the senses with pleasing ceremonies, so that many who could not judge of the goodness, were courted with the gaudiness, thereof. We are indebted to God for his goodness in moving Gregory; Gregory's carefulness in sending Augustine; Augustine's forwardness in preaching here; but above all, let us bless God's exceeding great favour, that that doctrine which Augustine planted here but impure, and his successors made worse with watering, is since, by the happy Reformation, cleared and refined to the purity of the Scriptures." [1]

[1] Quoted in Southey's *Book of the Church*, i. p. 65, note.

CHAPTER III.

The Gospel in Northumbria.

Section I. Step by step Christianity won its way throughout the Heptarchy. It early found an entrance into the great northern kingdom, whose capital was York. A.D. 625.

Paulinus, one of Augustine's followers, was consecrated the first bishop of York.[1] He had accompanied into the north Ethelburga, the Christian daughter of Ethelbert King of Kent, on her marriage with Edwin King of Northumbria, A.D. 625. Edwin, although still a pagan, was well disposed towards Christianity. Being about to undertake a war against Quichelm King of the West Saxons, he promised Paulinus, that if by his prayers he would procure him victory, he would renounce his idols and confess Christ. Edwin was victorious, but, before making profession of the Gospel, he desired to confer with his chief men and councillors, so that if they also were of the

[1] He is described by Bede as "a man tall in stature, a little stooping, with black hair, thin face, slender aquiline nose, and at once venerable and awful in aspect." This description was derived by Bede through the abbot Deda, from an aged man who had himself been baptized by Paulinus in the Trent.—*Eccles. Hist.*, b. ii. c. 16.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

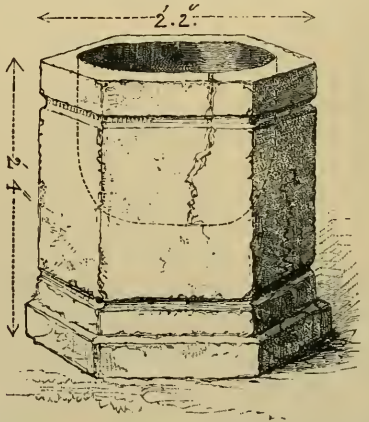
same mind, "all might together be cleansed in the fountain of life." Paulinus consented, and a general council was convened A.D. 627, probably at the royal villa on the Derwent. When they were assembled the king inquired of every one in particular what they thought of the new doctrine. The chief priest Coifi was the first to answer. "O king, consider what this is which is now preached to us, for the religion we have hitherto professed has, so far as I can see, no virtue in it. For none of thy people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I, and yet there are many who receive greater favours from thee, and are more prosperous in their undertakings. If the gods were good for anything they would favour me who have been more careful to serve them. If therefore on examination thou findest these new doctrines better, let us receive them without delay." As soon as he had spoken a thane stepped forward and said: "The present life of man, O king, compared with that part of our existence which is unknown to us, is like the flight of a sparrow through the hall where, round a blazing fire, with thy nobles and servants, thou sittest at supper in the winter time, whilst storms of rain and snow rage without. The sparrow flying in at one door and out at the other is happy only during the short space when he is within the hall; as he came from winter, so he vanishes into winter again. It is the same with the short span

of man s life; of what went before, or what is to come after, we are utterly ignorant. If therefore this new doctrine can tell us something more certain, it deserves to be received." He was followed by many other elders and royal councillors; after which, at Coifi's request, Paulinus expounded the A.D. 627.

Goodmanham Church, Yorkshire, supposed to occupy the site of the Saxon idol-temple destroyed by the high-priest Coifi, A.D. 627.

Christian doctrine; whereupon the chief priest cried out: "I have long been sensible that there was nothing in that which we worship, because the more diligently I sought after truth, the less I found it; but now I confess that in this preaching truth itself shines forth, which is able to confer on us life salvation and eternal happiness. I advise,

O king, that we instantly abandon and set fire to our unprofitable temples and altars." When the king inquired of him who should be the first to profane the ancient sanctuaries, he answered, "I; for who should more properly than myself destroy those things which through ignorance I worshipped." Then taking arms and mounting a stallion (neither of which was lawful for him), he



Ancient Font in Goodmanham Church, popularly believed to be that in which the high-priest Coifi was baptized.

rode to the spot where the chief temple stood. The people thought him mad, but without heeding them, as soon as he drew near, he cast his spear against it and defiled it, and at his bidding his attendants burnt it with all its precincts.[1]

[1] Id., b. ii. cc. 9–13. This spot, called by Bede Godmunddingaham, that is, *Protecting home of the gods*, is identified with Goodmanham, near Market Weighton, upwards of twenty miles E.S.E. of York.—Allen's *History of the County of York*, ii. p. 237. If this be so, and if the conference was held, as it is said, on the Derwent, the high-priest must have had a

The king was baptized, and Christianity became the religion of Northumbria. The blessings of peace followed quickly in its train. "In those times," says one of our old chroniclers, "was so great a peace that a woman might go from one town to another unharmed. King Edwin," he adds, "caused brass or iron cups to be fastened beside the clear wells for the refreshment of wayfarers, and so good justice did he keep, that no man dared take them away."[1] But at Edwin's death two usurpers who were pagans divided his kingdom, and the Northumbrians relapsed into idolatry. The eclipse however did not last long. The two kings dying, Oswald, the rightful heir, ascended the throne, and restored the Christian faith. He had been an exile amongst the Scots, where he had learnt to esteem the Gospel as the first of blessings. As soon therefore as he was seated on the throne, he sent to Iona for a missionary to teach the people anew. It is said that a monk of austere manners was at first chosen for this service, but, unable to condescend to the weaknesses and wants of a rude people, he effected

A.D. 627-635.

ride of some twelve to fifteen miles. The village church, which stands on the crown of a gentle hill at the southern edge of the Wolds, is supposed to occupy the site of the old shrine. In the lower part of the tower are the remains of a Norman doorway, and within a porch on the south side there is a semi-circular arch; the rest of the church is of various periods, none earlier than the fifteenth century. Within are two stone fonts, the smaller of which is ancient, although there is probably no foundation for the tradition that Coifi was baptized in it.—Ibid., p. 236.

[1] Fabyan, in *Pictorial History of England*, i. p. 146

Per. III. Chap. 3.

nothing, and returned home declaring that the Northumbrians were too barbarous to be instructed. There was present when the missionary gave in his report, a monk named Aidan, severely ascetic in his personal habits, but full of charity and gentleness towards others. This man ascribed the missionary's want of success to his own fault, and suggested that he ought, like Paul, to have fed his untutored hearers first with milk, until by degrees they should have acquired strength to receive more perfect counsel. All present exclaimed that Aidan himself was the fittest man for the work; and he was accordingly consecrated a bishop and sent into Northumbria, A.D. 635.[1]

The king gave him, as his episcopal seat, the island of Lindisfarne, afterwards called Holy Island, which was visible, at a distance of about six miles, from his own castle of Bamborough. Between Aidan and the king a warm friendship grew up. One Easter Day when they were sitting at table together with a silver dish full of dainties before them, and were just ready to bless the bread, the king's almoner came suddenly in to tell him that a great multitude of needy persons from all parts were sitting in the street expecting alms of him. The king immediately ordered the viands to be carried to the poor, and the silver dish to be cut in pieces and divided among them. Aidan,

[1] Bede, b. ii. c. 14: b. iii. cc. 1, 5; Neander, v. pp. 27, 28.

deeply impressed with the action, took the king's right hand in his, and said, "May this hand never perish." And so it was, according to the good old chronicler, who is ever ready to credit the miraculous; when the king was slain in battle, his right arm, which had been severed from his body, remained entire and uncorrupted, and was preserved down to Bede's time in a silver case in St. Peter's church at Bamborough.[1] A.D. 635–652.

The first church on Lindisfarne was built after the manner of the Scots, of split oak, thatched with coarse grass. Here Aidan preached to the chiefs and the royal household, the king himself acting as interpreter. But as soon as he had sufficiently mastered the English language Aidan travelled through the kingdom, preaching and conversing with the people.[2] "He taught," says Bede, "no otherwise than he lived; he neither sought nor loved anything of this world. He journeyed on foot, never using a horse except when compelled by some urgent necessity. All who bore him company, whether shaven monks or laymen, unlike the slothfulness of our times, occupied themselves in reading the Scriptures or learning psalms. If it happened, which was but seldom, that he was invited to eat with the king, he went with one or

[1] Bede, b. iii. c. 6.

[2] The county of Durham, except some cultivated patches near its hamlets and vils, was then in a state of nature large tracts of land being covered with forests of magnificent oak, the haunt of beasts of the chase.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

two clergy, and having taken a small repast, made haste to be gone in order to read or pray. Whatever gifts he received from the rich he distributed amongst the poor, or expended in redeeming captives, many of whom he educated as priests." "The religious habit," continues Bede, "was then held in great veneration; so that wheresoever any clerk or monk came he was joyfully received by all as God's servant; and such as chanced to meet him upon the way ran and bowed to him, and rejoiced to be signed by his hands or blessed with his lips. On the Lord's days the people flocked eagerly to the churches or monasteries, not to feed their bodies, but to hear the word of the grace of God. Priests, and clergy too, were so free from the plague of avarice, that no one received lands or possessions for building a monastery, unless it were enforced by the ruler of the country."[1] Aidan was alive to the value of education. He himself taught twelve Saxon youths, and as new monasteries were founded they became schools under the care of the monks who had followed him from Scotland.[2]

As with Augustine and the Britons, the differences beween the Roman and Scoto-Irish discipline came early into view, especially the time of observing Easter.[3] Bishop Aidan and the king

[1] Id., b. iii. cc. 5, 26; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Aidan, i. p. 66.

[2] Bede, ibid.

[3] The intolerance seems not to have been all on one side. Augustine's

observed the Scottish rule; but the queen had been brought up in the Roman practice, so that whilst her husband was joyfully celebrating Easter, she was still observing a rigorous fast. During Aidan's lifetime this difference was not suffered to disturb the peace of the church. Bede generously remarks: "Although bishop Aidan could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of those who had sent him forth, yet he took every pains to promote piety, faith and charity after the manner of all holy men." [1] A.D. 635–661.

But after Aidan's death the diversity of practice soon led to dissension. Aidan was succeeded in the bishopric by Finan, 652, and he again by Colman, 661, both like Aidan monks from Iona. King Oswald's successor, Oswy, followed the practices of the Scottish Church; his queen Eanfled, a Kentish princess, was, like her predecessor, devoted to the Roman ritual. Foremost amongst the Saxons educated at Lindisfarne was Wilfrid, a youth of great energy and intelligence. Wishing to compare the customs of the Northumbrian Church with those which claimed to be Catholic, he was sent by Queen Eanfled to Gaul and Rome, and came back full of zeal for the Roman usages. On his return the king's son Alfrid made him

successor in the see of Canterbury, Laurentius, complains that the Scottish bishop Dagan, coming into England, refused to eat with him and his fellow bishops, and even to break bread in the same house with them.—Bede, b. ii. c. 4.

[1] Id., b. iii. cc. 17, 25; Neander, v. pp. 30, 31.

abbot of the monastery of Ripon, displacing the Scottish monks for whom he had founded that cloister.[1]

The dispute concerning Easter came to its height in 664, when King Oswy called a synod at Whitby to bring it to a settlement. On the part of the Scots appeared bishop Colman and a Northumbrian bishop named Cedd, who had preached the Gospel amongst the East Saxons with great diligence, self-denial and success. They were supported by the saintly Hilda, in whose abbey the conference was held, in the presence of the king, the queen, and Prince Alfrid. On the other side were Agilbert bishop of the West Saxons, a native of Gaul, and Wilfrid, who from Agilbert's ignorance of English was the spokesman of the party. Bishop Colman argued for the Scottish practice from the authority of the apostle John, and the custom of the churches founded by him.[2] Wilfrid took his stand upon the custom of Rome and "of the Church of Christ in every land, except only these Scots and their accomplices in obstinacy, the Picts and Britons, who from these two remote islands of the ocean foolishly fight

[1] Bede, ibid.

[2] We have seen that the Scots were not Quarto-decimanians (see *ante*, p. 159). "Colman," says Bede, "celebrated Easter, not like the Jews, on the fourteenth of the month, whatsoever the day of the week might be, but on the Lord's day, from the fourteenth to the twentieth."—B. iii. c. 17. It may be that Colman cited the apostle John, in a traditionary way, without clearly understanding the point at issue.

against the whole world." He ensconced himself in the authority of Peter, and asked "if even the holy Columba was to be preferred to the apostle on whom Christ had built his Church, and given him the keys of the kingdom of heaven." On hearing this the king exclaimed, "Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord?" Colman answered, "It is true, O king." "Can *you* show any such power given to your Columba?" "We cannot," replied Colman. "Do you both agree that these words were principally directed to Peter, and that the keys of heaven were given to him by our Lord?" They both answered, "We do." Upon this the king declared, "I say that Peter is the doorkeeper, and I will not contradict him, but obey him in all things, lest when I come to the gates of heaven there should be none to open them, he who holds the keys being my adversary." Bishop Cedd submitted; but Colman, says Bede, perceiving that his doctrine was rejected and his sect despised, renounced his charge and went back into Scotland, accompanied by all who would not accept the Roman Easter and the Roman tonsure.[1] A.D. 664.

Wilfrid was in course of time appointed archbishop of York, and went to France to be conse-

[1] Id., b. iii. cc. 25, 26. The divergence was too deep to be healed. The British Church strove for spiritual freedom, as opposed to Rome's absolute rule. "Colman," says Fuller, "was angry that so slight an argument had made so deep an impression on the king's credulity."—Mayor and Lumby, *Bedæ Hist.*, notes, pp. 276, 278.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

crated by the Gallic bishops. On his return the vessel was stranded on the coast of Sussex. This, the last kingdom in the Heptarchy to be Christianized, was still almost wholly pagan. The savage inhabitants, who were merciless wreckers, rushed down to plunder the ship. At their head was a priest who, like "another Balaam," stood on a rising ground uttering spells and curses. Wilfrid on board the vessel, "like Moses and Aaron when Joshua fought with Amalek," withstood him by fervent prayer; whilst the crew made a stout resistance. A stone from a sling struck the pagan priest on the forehead, and put an end to his life and his enchantments. His fall only exasperated the barbarians. Thrice they renewed their attack upon the little band, and thrice were beaten off. As they were preparing for a fourth assault, the returning tide floated the ship, which sailed along the coast and arrived safely at Sandwich.[1]

After occupying the see of York with renown for several years, Wilfrid became involved in disputes with the king, was degraded from his dignity, and subjected to hardship and exile. In his adversity he remembered the rude people of Sussex, and how greatly they stood in need of Christian teaching. The king and queen of the South Saxons had both been baptized, and there was a small monastery of five or six Irish monks at Bosham, near Chichester, who "served the Lord

[1] Robertson, ii. p. 72; Milman, ii. pp. 76, 77.

in poverty and humility, but to whom none of the natives gave heed;" with these exceptions Wilfrid found the kingdom almost entirely heathen. The arts of life were hardly better understood than the precepts of the Gospel. Although the sea and the rivers abounded in fish, the people had no skill to take any but eels. Wilfrid made his men collect the eel-nets and cast them into the sea; they caught three hundred fishes of divers kinds, one-third of which they gave to the poor, another to the owners of the nets, and kept one-third for themselves. Wilfrid's preaching was very successful; nobles, priests and people flocked to him to be baptized; and the king granted him as the seat of his bishopric the peninsula of Selsey,[1] with all its lands, chattels, and inhabitants. Here he established a monastery and school, and finding in his new domain two hundred and fifty men and women slaves, "all these, as by baptizing them he saved them from the servitude of the devil, so by giving them freedom he loosed them from the yoke of human bondage." By this act he set a noble example.[2] A.D. circ. 685.

[1] When Lanfranc removed the episcopal sees from the villages, Selsey was transferred to Chichester. In the south aisle of the choir of this cathedral some Saxon bas-reliefs brought from thence are still to be seen.

[2] Bede, b. iv. c. 13; Milman, ii. pp. 80–90. The redemption of slaves was long a principal duty of the religious houses. In Doomsday no slave is registered in York, and few in the neighbouring counties. At the Council of Celchyth (in Mercia), A.D. 816, bishops were directed to free at their death all bondsmen of English descent, whom the Church had acquired during their administration.—Mayor and Lumby, pp. 228, 332.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

We have spoken of Hilda. Whitby Abbey contained houses for men as well as women, all under the direction of this "Northumbrian Deborah."[1] One of the monks was Cædmon, the first English poet, of whom Bede has left a brief but charming notice. "There was," he writes, "a certain brother who, with much sweetness and humility, made pious verses in his native language. Before he entered the monastery he had lived many years without learning the art of versifying, so that at entertainments when for the sake of mirth all the guests sang in turn, as soon as he saw the instrument come towards him he rose from the table and went home. Once on a time, having left the feast and gone to the stable, where it was his business that night to take care of the horses, when he had finished his work he composed himself to sleep. In his sleep One appeared to him and said, 'Cædmon, sing some song to me.' He answered, 'I cannot sing; I left the entertainment and retired to this place because I could not sing.' He who talked with him replied, 'Thou shalt however sing.' 'What shall I sing?' asked Cædmon. 'Sing the Creation,' was the answer. Upon which he sang—

Nu we sceolan herian	Now must we praise
heofon-ríces weard.	the Guardian of heaven's kingdom,

[1] Hook, i. p. 32. Several such double monasteries existed in Saxon England; they seem to have prospered for a time, but were soon discontinued.

metodes mihte	the Creator's might,	A.D. circ. 680.
and his mod-ge-thonc.	and his mind's thought;	
wera wuldor-fæder.	glorious Father of men!	
swa he wundra gehwæs	as of every wonder He,	
ece dryhten	Lord eternal,	
oord onstealde.	formed the beginning.	
he ærest gescéop	He first framed	
eorthan bearnum	for the children of earth	
heofon to hrófe	the heaven as a roof,	
halig scyppend.	holy Creator!	
tha middangeard	Then mid earth	
moncynnes weard	the Guardian of mankind,	
ece dryhten	the eternal Lord,	
æfter teode	afterwards produced;	
firum foldan	the earth for men,	
frea ælmihtig.[1]	the Lord almighty.	

When he awoke he remembered what he had sung in his dream; and much more to the same effect came into his mind. He went to the town-reeve of Whitby to acquaint him with the gift he had received, and by him was conducted to the abbess, to whom in the presence of many learned men he told his dream and repeated his verses. It was seen by all that the Lord had bestowed upon him heavenly grace; and the abbess urged him to lay aside his secular habit and enter upon the monastic life, directing that he should be thoroughly instructed in the Bible. Retaining in his memory all he learnt, and as it were chewing

[1] Thorpe, *Cædmon's Metrical Bible.* Bede (b. iv. c. 24) gives the verses in Latin; King Alfred's version of Bede's history gives Cædmon's original words as above; Mayor and Lumby, ed. Bedæ.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

the cud, he turned the sacred history into most harmonious verse. He sang the creation of the world, the origin of man, the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt and their entrance into the land of promise; the incarnation, passion and resurrection of our Lord, and his ascension into heaven, the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the preaching of the Apostles, the terror of the judgment to come, the pains of hell and the delights of heaven."[1]

At length when the time of his departure drew near, Cædmon, being taken sick, desired his attendant to prepare a room for him in a hospital which was nigh at hand. As his master was still able to walk and converse, the attendant wondered at the order, but did as he was bid. The poet talked cheerfully and playfully with the other inmates of the hospital until past midnight, when he asked if they had the Eucharist. His companions answered, "What need of the Eucharist? thou art not going to die." "Nevertheless," he answered, "bring me the Eucharist." Having taken it into his hand, he asked whether they were all of unruffled mind towards him, free from all controversy and rancour. They answered they were all in perfect charity, and inquired whether he was in the same mind toward them? He replied, "My children, I am in charity with all the servants of God."

[1] *Eccles. Hist.*, b. iv. c. 24.

Having strengthened himself with the heavenly viaticum,[1] he inquired if the time was near when the brethren were to be awakened to sing the Nocturns. They replied, "It is not far off." He answered, "It is well; let us wait for that hour;" and "signing himself with the sign of the holy cross, he laid his head on the pillow, and falling asleep, so in silence ended his life."[2] A.D. circ. 690.

Of Cædmon's poem (if indeed it be his), only one ancient copy, and that anonymous, is extant, written apparently in the tenth century. It was given by Archbishop Ussher to the learned Junius, who printed it and afterwards bequeathed it to the Bodleian library.[3] Milton probably saw it before he composed his *Paradise Lost*.

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[1] Death-bed communion; literally, provision for a journey. [2] Bede, ib.

[3] *Cædmon*, by R. Spence Watson, pp. 29–31. Satan's fall is thus described :—

Then was the Mighty angry;
The highest Ruler of heaven
Hurled him from the lofty seat.
* * * * *
He must seek the gulf
Of hard hell-torment,
For that he had warr'd with heaven's Ruler.
* * * * *
The fiend with all his comrades
Fell then from heaven above,
Through as long as three nights and days.
* * * * *
* * * * *
Satan harangued,
Sorrowing spoke,
He who hell thenceforth
Should rule.
He was erst God's angel,
Fair in heaven,
Until him his mind urged,
And his pride
Most of all,
That he would not
The Lord of Hosts'
Word revere.
Boiled within him
His thought about his heart
Hot was without him
His dire punishment.
Then spake he the words:
"This narrow place is most unlike
That other that we ere knew,
High in heaven's kingdom.
* * * * *
O! had I power of my hands!

Per. III. Chap. 3.

"Cædmon's poetry," remarks Milman, "was the people's Bible. . . . He chose by the natural test of his own kindred sympathies, all which would most powerfully work on the imagination, or strike to the heart of a rude yet poetic race."[1]

SECTION II. In the same year that Aidan died, so Bede relates, a youthful shepherd in the hill country of Lauderdale, then part of Northumbria, was watching his flock by night, when a company of angels appeared to him, singing hymns of triumph, and bearing up to heaven a newly-departed soul. He awoke his fellow-shepherds, who only laughed at his tale; but when he learned that bishop Aidan had passed away at that very time, he left them, and rode down to Melrose,[2] where some Scottish monks from Lindisfarne had reared a monastic house. Here he applied for admission into the brotherhood, and was readily received. A few years afterwards Cuthbert, for this was the name of the shepherd youth, made one of that colony of Scottish monks, which Prince Alfrid first planted at Ripon, and then sent back to their own

---

Then with this host I——
But around me lie
Iron bonds;
Presseth this cord of chain:
I am powerless!
* * * * *
Here is a vast fire
Above and underneath;
Never did I see
A loathlier landscape;
The flame abateth not."
—Thorpe, *Cædmon's Metrical Bible.*

[1] *Latin Christianity*, ii. p. 95.

[2] This was not the Melrose with which Scott has made us familiar, and which was a later foundation a short distance higher up the Tweed.

country to make way for Wilfrid and his Anglo-Romans.[1] On his return to Melrose Cuthbert devoted himself to missionary work, of which there was urgent need, for the people around were addicted to magic and sunk in ignorance.[2] A.D. 652–684.

In 664 he was promoted to be prior of Lindisfarne, where he set an example of devotion and self-denial. As time went on the spirit of asceticism grew upon him, and he forsook the island, retiring to a solitary place on the mainland, and thence to one of the little islands of Farne, lying to the southward. This islet "consists of a few acres of ground, partially covered with grass, and hemmed around with an abrupt border of basaltic rock." Here the more completely to exclude what little was left of the outer world, he raised a wall of turf and stone which he could not see over; and within this enclosure built an oratory and a hut of driftwood thatched with straw. His cell had but one window, and this after a while he closed, never opening it except to give his blessing when his brethren from Lindisfarne, or strangers, came to seek it. At the place of anchorage he set up another cabin to shelter his visitors. On this island

[1] See above, p. 174.

[2] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Cuthbert, i. pp. 724, 725. He feared not to travel in the most inaccessible districts, on rugged mountains and by toilsome paths, where the people alike from their poverty and ignorance were quite neglected by others, and often remained away two or three weeks, or a month even, from the monastery, dwelling among the mountaineers, and teaching them both by word and by the example of his deeds.—Bede, iv. c. 27; ed. Mayor and Lumby, pp. 152, 377.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

he passed nine years. In 684, with great difficulty and only by the personal entreaty of King Egfrid, who crossed over to Farne for that purpose, he was induced to abandon his hermitage, and to accept the bishopric of Lindisfarne.

For two years Cuthbert faithfully discharged the episcopal duties, and then resigned his see to retire again to his beloved cell, that he might die there in peace. Early in 686 he was seized with his death-sickness. Herefrid prior of Lindisfarne visited him, and after receiving directions for his burial, went home, purposing shortly to return; but a storm arising, five days elapsed before he could venture to recross. On the sixth day Herefrid, with a party of his monks, found Cuthbert sitting in the little guest-chamber at the landing-place. For five days and nights he had not tasted anything nor moved from the spot. The monks carried him into his oratory, where he uttered his last request, that should they ever be compelled to desert their home, his remains should accompany them wherever they went.[1] When he died, which was at midnight, Herefrid lighted a couple of torches and waved them in the air as a signal to

[1] This charge was faithfully obeyed; but the incursions of the Danes made its fulfilment a very arduous matter. For many years the body was carried about to various places in Northumbria and Cumbria, and once was even taken on board a ship to be conveyed to Ireland. At last it found a resting-place on the summit of the hill at Durham, then covered with wood. Here a church was commenced, the parent of the present stately cathedral.—*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i. pp. 726, 727.

Lindisfarne. Cuthbert is said to have wrought many miracles, the fame of which after his death spread far and wide, and laid the foundation of the extraordinary influence and wealth of the see of Durham.[1] A.D. 684–698.

Lindisfarne was for many years a centre of learning and of ecclesiastical power. Before the conversion of the bishopric of York into a metropolitan see under Wilfrid, its bishop wielded jurisdiction from the Firth of Clyde to the Humber.[2] In how great a degree art and learning had taken up their abode in this remote corner of Christendom is seen in the celebrated *Durham Book*, an illuminated copy of the Gospels in the Vulgate version of Jerome written at this period.[3] This, one of the most beautiful manuscripts in Europe, is a memorial of the pious care of the monks of Lindisfarne. One abbot after another took his part in the labour of love. Eadfrith,[4] who followed Cuthbert in the bishopric and abbacy, and whose chief mission was to spread the glory of his prede-

[1] Ibid.

[2] The original rude church was replaced by a cathedral of stone. This was pulled down in 1093, when the see was transferred to Durham, and the Priory Church, whose picturesque ruins still adorn the island, was erected out of its materials. No trace now exists of the original monastic buildings. The name Holy Island, in memory of the martyrs in the Danish massacre, was given in 1093. Some remains of Cuthbert's cell are, it is said, still to be seen on Farne Island.—Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iv. pp. 473, 474.

[3] It is the earliest specimen extant of Saxon calligraphy and decoration. —H. H. Baber, preface to his edition of Wicliffe's New Testament, p. lx.

[4] Bishop from A.D. 698 to 721.

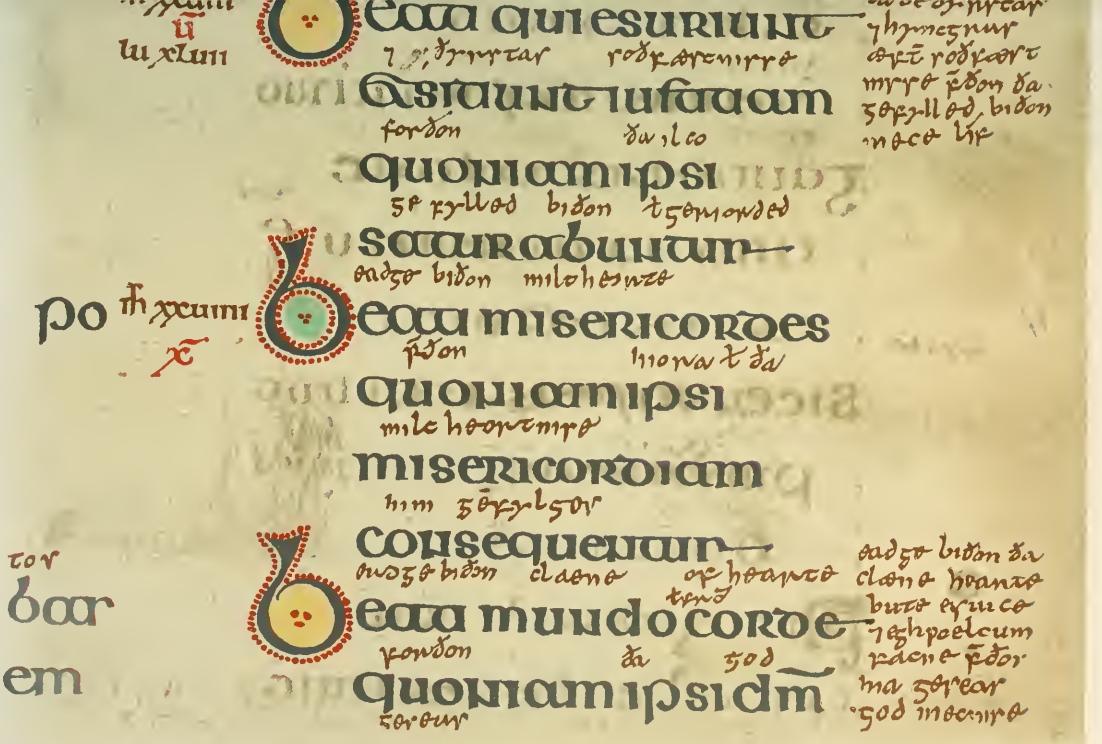
Per. III. Chap. 3.

cessor, began to transcribe the work probably during Cuthbert's lifetime, and laid it reverently on its completion upon the shrine of the saint; Ethilwald,[1] who succeeded Eadfrith, gave the covers; Billfrith, the anchorite, wrought the ornaments and jewelled work upon the outside. Thus far it would seem was the work completed in the early part of the eighth century, and it was not until the middle of the tenth that Aldred the priest added the interlinear Saxon version, still animated as the previous labourers had been by devotion to the memory of Cuthbert. The book was esteemed, and no wonder, a priceless treasure by the island monks. They bore it with them when fleeing from the ravages of the Northmen. Once in the ninth century the monks were essaying to cross the channel to Ireland when the precious volume fell into the sea. Great was their joy to discover it three days after, stranded on the coast at Whithorn, bearing only the stains of sea-water, which are still visible. The book remained at Lindisfarne until the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and has since found its way to the British Museum, where it is now preserved.[2] The volume is a square folio, written on vellum in double columns in the half-uncial character. It contains whole-page pictures of the four Evangelists, and four pages also of rich lace-work ornament of a Runic character

[1] Bishop from A.D. 724 to 740.

[2] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, ii. pp. 7, 229.

eam pauperes spu
quoniam ipsorum est
regnum caelorum
eam mites quoniam
ipsi possidebunt
terram
eam qui lugent quoniam
ipsi
consolabuntur



Facsimile of part of a page from the Durham Book (Lindisfarne Gospels).

round the figure of a cross. These illuminations with the capital letters are all richly and delicately coloured. The accompanying chromo-graph represents rather more than half the right-hand column of folio 33. VII.-X. Cent.

Matthew v. 3–8.

bitħon *vel*-frōm
Eadge ħa ħærſendo of-gaste
[3] Beati pauperes spiritu

forħon hiora is
quoniam ipsorum est

ric heofna
regnum caelorum

Eadge bitħon ħa ħærſende ħæt is ún spoedge menn *vel* únsynnige forħon hia agan godes r[ic]

T
M XXVI [5] Beati mites quoniam
x̄

Eadge bitħon ħa milde forħon

ħa agnegaħ
ipsi posidebunt

eorħo
terram

Forħon ħa milde gbyes hlīᶠgiendr[a] eorħo

T
M XXVII [4] Beati qui lugunt
ū
Lu XLVIII

Eadge bitħon ħa ħe gemænas

forħon ħa
quoniam ipsi

gefroefred bitħon
consolabuntur

nú
nunc

T
M XXVIII [6] Beati qui esuriunt
ū
Lu XLVII

Eadge bitħon ħa ħe hyncgraħ

& ħyrstas soħfæstnisse
et sitiunt iustitiam

forħon ħa ilco
quoniam ipsi

gefylled bitħon *vel* geriorded
saturabuntur

Eadge bitħon ħa ħe ħyrstas & hyncgras æfter soħfæst nisse forħon ħa gefylled bitħon in ece líf

Per. III. Chap. 3. T M xxviiii x̄

Eadge bith̄on milt-heorte
[7] Beati misericordes

for*th̄*on hiora *vel* th̄a
quoniam ipsi

milt-heortnise
misericordiam

him gefylges
consequentur

Eadge bith̄on claene of hearte *vel* from
[8] Beati mundo corde

forth̄on th̄a god
quoniam ipsi d*eu*m

Eadge bith̄on th̄a claene hearte bute esuice & eghwoelcum facne *for*th̄on hia geseas god in ecnise

Blessed are the poor of spirit
[3] Blessed *are* the poor in spirit

for theirs is
for theirs is

(the) kingdom of heaven
the kingdom of heaven

Blessed are the destitute that is poor men [or] innocent for they own God's kingdom.

Blessed are the mild (meek) for
[5] Blessed *are* the meek for

they shall own
they shall inherit

(the) earth
the earth

For the mild shall inhabit (the) higher earth

Blessed are those that mourn
[4] Blessed *are* they that mourn

for they
for they

shall be comforted
shall be comforted

VII.–X. Cent.

Blessed are those that hunger
[6] Blessed *are* they that hunger
and thirst for truth
and thirst after righteousness
for the same
for they
shall be filled *or* refreshed
shall be filled

Blessed (are) those that thirst and hunger after truth for they shall be filled in eternal life

Blessed are (the) merciful
[7] Blessed *are* the merciful
for their *or* the
for they
mercy
mercy
follows them
shall obtain

Blessed are (the) clean of heart
[8] Blessed *are* the pure in heart
for they God
for they God

Blessed are the clean-hearted without deceit and wickedness every for they shall see God in eternity

NOTES.

The interlinear translation and marginal gloss are in the Dano-Saxon dialect, which differs in many particulars from the Anglo-Saxon.

It will be noticed that verses 4 and 5 are not in the same order as in our New Testament, but are interchanged. This is their order in the Vulgate, which has been followed by Wicliffe. Tyndale and our modern translators follow the Greek order. In verse 4 the transcriber has made a mistake, *lugunt* for *lugent*. The fragments of words on the left belong to the other column of the page.

The letters opposite verses [5] [4] [6] [7] are the *Eusebian*

Per. III. Chap. 3.

Canons, set at the side, not, as in the *Codex Argenteus*, in arches at the foot of the page (see vol. i. of this work, p. 135). The M with the T above it stands for Matthew; the x̄ signifies the tenth canon or table, the ū (v̄) the fifth.

At the end of John's Gospel is the following note:—

✠ Eadfrith biscob lindis-fearnensis æcclesiae he þis boc aurát aet fruma gode. & sancte cuþberhte & allum þaem halgum gimaenlice þa þe in eolonde sint. & Ethiluald lindisfearneolondinga biscob hit úta giþryde & gibelde sua he uel cuþae. & billfriþ se oncrae he gismiotþade þa gihrino þaþe útan ón sint & hit gihrínade miþ golde & miþ gimmum aec miþ suulfre ofergylded faconleas feh: & Aldred presbyter indignus & miserrimus miþ godes fultummæ & sancti cuþberhtes hit ofergloésade ón englisc. & hine gihamadi miþ þaem þriim daelum. Matheus dael gode & sancti cuþberhti. Marcus dael þæm biscobe. & lucas dael þaem hiorode & œhtu ora seulfres miþ tó inláde: & sancti iohannis dael for hine seolfne & feouer ora seulfres miþ gode & sancti cuþberhti þæte he hœbbe ondfong þerh godes milsae on heofnum. séel & sibb on eorþo forþ-geong & giþyngo uisdóm & snyttro þerh sancti cuþberhtes earnunga: ✠ Eadfriþ. oeþiluald. billfriþ. aldred. hoc evangelarium deo & cuþberhto construxérunt vel ornauerunt.

✠ Eadfrith, bishop of the Lindisfarne Church, (was) he (who) at the first wrote this book in honour of God and St. Cuthbert, and all the saints in common that are in the island. And Ethilwald, bishop of the people of the Lindisfarne island, made it firm on the outside, and covered it as well as he could. And Billfrith the anchorite, he wrought in smiths' work the ornaments that are on the outside, and adorned it with gold, and also with gems, overlaid with silver, unalloyed metal. And Aldred,[1] an unworthy and most miser-

[1] Supposed by some writers to be the same with Aldred the provost, whose name appears in the Durham Ritual about A.D. 970; but this is

able priest, with the help of God and St. Cuthbert, glossed it above in English, and made himself familiar with the three parts: Matthew's part for God and St. Cuthbert; Mark's part for the bishop; and Luke's part for the brotherhood, and eight oras[1] of silver for his admission; and St. John's part for himself, and four oras of silver (deposited) with God and St. Cuthbert; to the end that he may, through God's mercy, gain admittance into heaven, and on earth happiness and peace, promotion and dignity, wisdom and prudence, through St. Cuthbert's merits. ✠ Eadfrith, Œthilwald, Billfrith, (and) Aldred made and adorned this gospel book for God and St. Cuthbert.[2] A.D. 674.

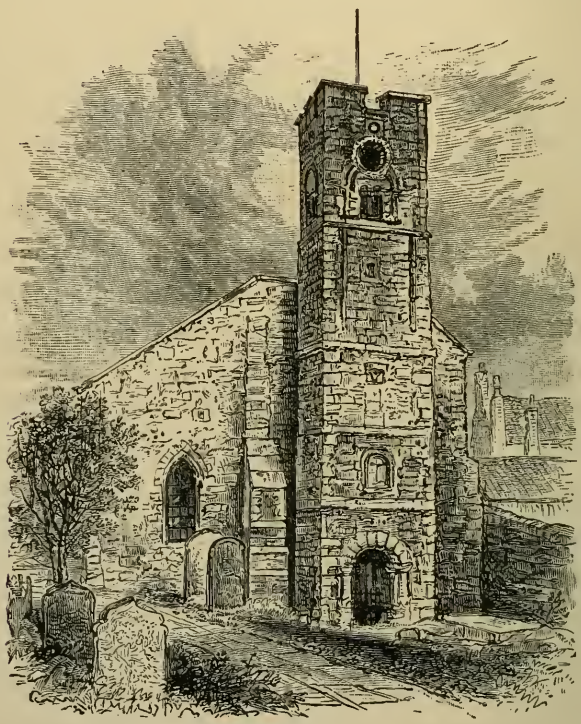
Section III. The saintly Cuthbert was yet living when, in 674, Benedict Biscop, a noble Saxon, obtained from King Egfrid seventy hides of land on the north bank of the river Wear, and founded the abbey of Monkwearmouth. "Its church," as Bede informs us, "was a magnificent stone building in the Roman style, and was constructed by workmen brought over from France. When it was nearly finished, Biscop sent again to France for artificers skilled in making glass, and those foreigners not only fashioned the windows, but taught the natives the mystery of their art, by which lamps, cups, and an endless variety

uncertain. It is considered, however, that the Dano-Saxon *gloss* belongs to the period just mentioned, namely, the latter half of the tenth century.

[1] The ora had two values, but was commonly reckoned at sixteen pence.

[2] See Skeat, *Gospel of St. John in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian;* Bond and Thompson, *Fac-similes of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, Palæographical Society. In the foregoing description and elucidation of the *Durham Book*, we are specially indebted to Joseph Cohen of Woolwich for kind and valuable assistance.

of useful and ornamental articles are formed with wonderful beauty and facility." Biscop's zeal prompted him to make several journeys to Rome, whence he brought back the art of Church music, many valuable books, and a copious supply of



Monkwearmouth Church.

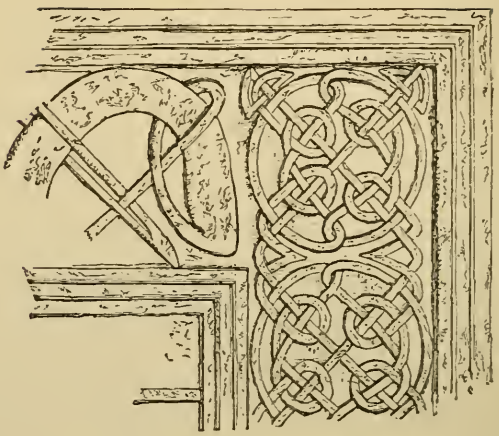
relics and pictures of Christ, the Virgin, the Twelve Apostles, &c., with which he adorned the roof and walls of his church.[1]

Biscop's fabric has not wholly perished. The

[1] Bede, *Lives of Benedict, &c.*, Wilcock, pp. 9–14. The plate and vestments for the service of the church also came from abroad.—Id., p. 11.

church still stands in a third-rate street of the busy town of Sunderland, a memorial of England's religious zeal in the vigour of her childhood. The west porch and west wall are the very same that Benedict's skilful workmen from France raised under his eye, and on which Bede, in his youthful wonder, gazed with so much delight. In proof of this the plan of the church and its style of ornamentation agree exactly with those of other "Saxon" churches of the seventh and eighth centuries. There is also a close and curious resemblance between the fragments of sculpture remaining on the Monkwearmouth stones and the illuminations in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Considering, remarks G. F. Browne, how very few there must have been who carried the art of "Irish ornamentation" to perfection, the hand which in so felicitous a manner handled the chisel at Monkwearmouth was not improbably the same which, more than twenty years afterwards, drew the exquisite designs of the Lindisfarne Book. One of the fragments of the artist's work is a corner of a sculptured stone of yellowish tint built into the wall of the vestry, and which may perhaps be a portion of the memorial slab laid over the body of Benedict himself, hard by the altar of his church.[1] It is presented in the following woodcut, A.D. 674.

[1] G. F. Browne, *Notes on the Remains of St. Peter's, Monkwearmouth*, pp. 13–15. We are indebted to the author's courtesy for permission to copy his drawing of the sculpture.

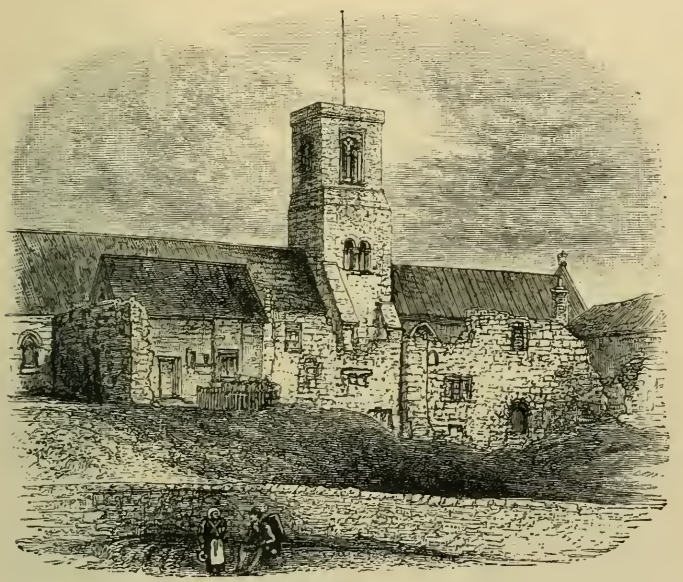


Fragment of Sculpture from Monkwearmouth Church

Corner of a Page of Ornamentation, *Durham Book*.

together with a pattern from one of the four great pages of interlacements in the manuscript. A.D. 682–684.

In 682 Biscop founded the sister monastery of Jarrow on the Tyne, whither he transferred seventeen monks of the Wearmouth Convent under the direction of a learned priest named Ceolfrid.[1]



Jarrow Church.

Ceolfrid was a pattern of discipline, a collector of

[1] The church was dedicated A.D. 684. The present building, with a few remnants of the ancient priory, now converted into cottages, stands at the north end of the smoky and unsightly hive of industry which still bears the honoured name of Jarrow. It occupies a breezy though gentle eminence on the south shore of the Tyne, overlooking its broad and shallow waters. The church has been modernised, but in this case, as in that of Bishopwearmouth, the base of the square tower is supposed to be the actual work of Biscop.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

books, and a great lover of Rome. After a while he was appointed by Biscop abbot of Wearmouth

Ceolfrid's Farewell. Designed for Edward Backhouse, by W. B. Scott.

as well as of Jarrow. He died A.D. 716 at Langres in France, on his way toward Rome, where he

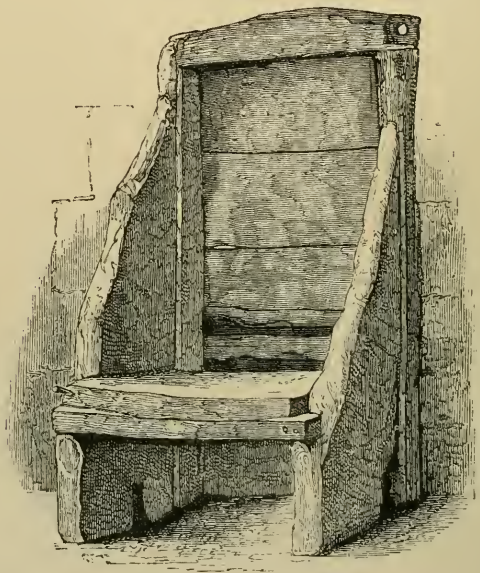
intended to end his days. Bede has left a description of Ceolfrid's farewell to his flock. The scene is the monastery of Monkwearmouth. "Early in the morning of the 4th of June, after mass had been sung in the church of the blessed Virgin mother of God, and also in the apostle Peter's, and all present had received the Holy Communion, the abbot girded himself for his pilgrimage. The brethren crowded into the church, where Ceolfrid, after kindling the incense and praying before the altar, stood upon the steps, and, with the flaming censer in his hand, gave the salutation of peace. From the church they proceeded, mingling their sobs with the Litany, into the oratory of St. Lawrence. Here Ceolfrid uttered his last farewell, and exhorted them to preserve love to one another, and to correct offenders according to the Gospel. He forgave all who had ever incurred his displeasure, and craved the same forgiveness for himself, if on his part he had treated any too rigorously; and begged to be remembered in their prayers. They come to the river; they exchange again, amid their tears, the kiss of peace, and all bow the knee whilst he prays aloud. He enters the boat, his companions entering also, the deacons carrying a golden cross and lighted tapers. He crosses the stream, does reverence to the cross, and mounting his horse, disappears."[1]

A.D. 682–716.

[1] Bede, *Lives of Benedict, &c.*, Wilcock, pp. 15–17, 37–39, 45: and ed. Moberly, p. 386; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i. p. 441.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

Both Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid had a part in the education of "Venerable Bede," the glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church. This remarkable man was born about the year 673, and at the age of seven, whilst the church was in building, was brought to Biscop at Monkwearmouth to be in-



Reputed Chair of Bede, Jarrow.

structed in the rudiments of learning, and initiated in the discipline of the cloister. When only nineteen, being under the canonical age, he was made deacon, at thirty was ordained priest,[1] and afterwards became abbot of the monastery of Jarrow, numbering at that time 600 monks and scholars.

[1] Ibid., pp. 300–302; Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, b. v. c 24

Here he spent his life, giving daily instruction in the Scriptures and all the other learning of the age; not a few of his disciples catching the enthusiasm of his gentle, humble spirit. Bede's life seems to have flowed on, "like a calm river, within the pleasant banks of study, teaching, and devotional exercises."[1] He tells us he never wandered far from his own cloister, and we have no account of any journey extending beyond York. His death happened in 735, in his sixty-third year.[2] A.D. 673–735.

His disciple Cuthbert, afterwards abbot of Jarrow, has left a touching description of Bede's last days in a letter to a fellow-pupil. "I have read with much satisfaction in thy letters that masses and holy prayers are diligently celebrated by you for our father and master Bede, beloved of God, on which account it is the more pleasing to me to gratify thy desire and to relate how he departed this world. Although much troubled with shortness of breath, he was cheerful and joyful, till the day of our Lord's Ascension, reading lessons to us and singing psalms, and giving thanks to God night and day with expanded hands. He sang the sentence of St. Paul, 'It is dreadful to fall into the hands of the living God,' and also the song in our

[1] "I have ever held it sweet either to learn, to teach, or to write." He says also that he took part in the domestic work of the monastery, "the winnowing and threshing of corn, giving milk to the lambs and calves, and the work of the garden, kitchen and bakehouse."—Giles, *Life of Bede*, xvi., prefixed to his translation of the *Eccles. Hist.*; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, ibid.

[2] Ibid.; Giles, pp. xiv–xvi.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

English tongue [to the effect], 'No man is so wise as to dispense with the examination of his account before his departure.'[1] He sang also Antiphons according to our custom: 'O Glorious King, Lord of Powers, who triumphing this day, didst ascend above the heavens; do not forsake us orphans; but send down upon us the Father's promised Spirit of Truth.' When he came to that word 'do not forsake us,' he burst into tears and wept much, and an hour afterwards he repeated what he had begun. We hearing it, wept with him; by turns we read, and by turns we wept, nay, we always read with tears. He often repeated, 'God scourges every son whom he receives,' and the saying of St. Ambrose: 'I have not so lived among you as to be ashamed to live on; but I do not fear to die because our Lord is good.'[2] He had two works in hand during those days—the translation of the Gospel of St. John into our own tongue, and a Selection from the Book of Notes of Bishop Isidore—which he laboured to finish, saying, 'I would not leave my children anything erroneous, or have them toil fruitlessly after my death.' On the Tuesday before Ascension his breathing became more difficult, and his feet began to swell; but he passed the day pleasantly, dictating and saying, 'Go on quickly, I know not how long I shall abide, or whether my Maker will soon take me away.'

[1] Cf. Augustine, in vol. i. of this work, p. 355.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 172.

Again on Wednesday, he desired we would write with speed, and when we had finished we made the customary procession with the relics of the saints till the third hour. Then one of us who was with him said, 'Most dear master, there is still one chapter of the Gospel untranslated, is it troublesome to thee to be asked any more questions?' He answered, 'It is no trouble, take thy pen and write fast.' But at the ninth hour he said to me, 'Run and bring hither the priests of the monastery.' When they came, 'The rich,' he said, 'can make presents of silver and gold; I have none of these, but with love and joy I present my brethren with what God has given me.' Thus saying he distributed amongst them a few peppercorns and grains of frankincense with some church cloths, and charged them diligently to say masses and prayers for him. 'It is time,' he said, 'I returned to Him who formed me out of nothing. I have lived long, my merciful judge well foresaw my life for me, the time of my dissolution draws near, I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.' Much more he spoke, and passed the day joyfully till the evening, when the lad said, 'Dear master, there is yet one sentence to write.' He answered, 'Write quickly.' Presently afterwards the youth said again, 'Now it is finished.' He replied, 'Thou hast said the truth, it is ended. Hold my head in thy hands; it is a great satisfaction to me to sit opposite to the holy place where I

A.D. 735.

Per. III. Chap. 3.

have been wont to pray, that I may call upon my Father singing, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.' With these words

Death of Bede. Designed for Edward Backhouse, by W. B. Scott.

he breathed his last, and we doubt not his soul was borne by angels unto heavenly joys."[1]

[1] Giles, pp. xx–xxiv; Mayor and Lumby, pp. 176–179; Neander, v. p. 211, note. He had reached the ninth verse of the sixth chapter of John's Gospel.

Bede wrote many books, the most renowned of which is his *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*.[1] In his attainments he was abreast of all the learning and science of the age. Under Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid he enjoyed exceptional advantages. "Nowhere else could he acquire at once the Irish, the Roman, the Gallican, and the Canterbury learning."[2] Bede understood Greek and had some knowledge of Hebrew, was well versed in the Latin poets and familiar with the works of the Fathers.[3] There was at that time no spot on this side the Alps more luminous than Jarrow: in Ireland and France, the light of knowledge was fast waning. The culture of Jarrow passed over to the school of York, promoted, though not founded by Bede; and Alcuin, the most illustrious pupil of that school, carried the lamp of learning across the sea to the court of Charles the Great, before the ravages of the Danes plunged England again into barbarism.[4] A.D. 735.

[1] It was translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred.

[2] Theodore, seventh archbishop of Canterbury, 668–690, was a Greek, a native of Paul's city of Tarsus. He was accompanied to England by the abbot Adrian. They brought with them a valuable library, and are regarded as the founders of English scholarship. The larger monasteries were converted into schools of learning, Canterbury being the chief. "Many of their disciples," says Bede, "are still living, who are as well versed in Greek and Latin as in their native tongue."—*Eccles. Hist.*, b. iv. cc. 1, 2; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, i. p. 163.

[3] Copies of the Vulgate New Testament and of Cassiodorus on the Psalms in Bede's own handwriting are in the Chapter Library at Durham.

[4] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i. pp. 301, 302: and art. Alcuin, i. p. 74. It is said on King Alfred's accession, A.D. 872, not a single priest was to be found

Per. III. Chap. 3.

Bede's Homilies on the Gospels contain many bright spiritual thoughts. Take the following example (John ii. 1–11). "'And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus said to him, They want wine. Jesus said to her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come.' In nowise did He who commands us to honour father and mother intend to dishonour his mother; still less did He mean to deny that she was his mother, from whom he had condescended to be born. But in that He was about to perform a miracle, He signified that He had not received from his temporal mother that divine nature which he was proceeding to exhibit, but that He had enjoyed it eternally from the Father. 'What, O woman, is there in common between my Deity, which I have always held indissolubly with the Father, and the human nature which I have received from thee? The hour is not yet come when by dying I may show the prevailing nature of the humanity which I have received from thee: I must previously exhibit the power of the Eternal Deity in great signs.'"[1]

After the death of Bede we hear nothing of the two monasteries until the fatal year 870, when, with Lindisfarne and the other religious houses on the coast, they were utterly destroyed by the

south of the Thames, who understood the daily Latin service which he muttered.—Le Bas, *Life of Wicliffe*, p. 56.

[1] *Lives of Eminent Anglo-Saxons*, pt. i. p. 169.

Destruction of Monk Wearmouth Monastery by the Danes, and slaughter of the monks and nuns, A.D 870.

Designed and etched for Edward Backhouse by W. B. Scott.

Danes, and monks, priests and people put to the sword.[1] A.D. 735–1083.

Two hundred years afterwards they were restored by Aldwin, a Mercian monk, but in 1083 were deprived of their independent existence, and became cells of Durham Cathedral.[2]

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[1] The artist in the accompanying etching is mistaken in representing monks and nuns as belonging to the same monastery. Such had been the case at Whitby and a few other places in England in the seventh century, but not at Monkwearmouth, nor probably anywhere else at the time of the Danish inroad.—See *ante*, p. 178, and note.

[2] Surtees, *History of Durham*, ii. pp. 5, 6.

CHAPTER IV.

British Missionaries to the German Nations.

Per. III. Chap. 4.

Section I. We must retrace our steps to give some account of the work of the Irish and English missionaries on the continent of Europe. These messengers were amongst the most faithful Witnesses for Christ from the sixth to the ninth century. In those days Ireland was perhaps the first of the nations in knowledge and gospel charity, and the Irish Church, so far from being the most docile and devoted of Rome's servants, stood forth almost alone to resist her arbitrary will.

The leader of this band, who commenced his missionary travels seven years before the arrival of Augustine in England, was Columbanus.[1] He was born about 543 A.D. in the province of Leinster, and educated in the monastery of Bangor, on the coast of Ulster, founded and governed by the abbot Comgall. At the age of thirty he conceived the idea of preaching the gospel to the pagan nations of Germany, some knowledge of whom

[1] Not to be confounded with Columba of Iona spoken of in the last chapter, who was born forty years before.

had come into Ireland through France. The seed of Christianity had been early planted in those parts of Germany which were subject to the Roman Empire, but when these countries were overrun by barbarous pagan tribes, the precious plant was trodden down and almost eradicated.[1] A.D. circ. 543–585.

Columbanus felt within him, as his biographer expresses it, "that fire which our Saviour said He came to kindle on the earth." The abbot gave him twelve young men as his companions. Arriving in Gaul they found the need of Christian teaching in that kingdom so urgent, that, being invited to remain, they settled in a forest of the Vosges mountains in the country of the Burgundians. Columbanus purposely chose a spot which had first to be reclaimed by the severe labour of his monks, in order that they might acquire greater power of self-denial and of control over the sensuous nature, and might also show the untutored people how to till the soil. At first they had nothing to live upon but herbs and the bark of trees; but Columbanus had great faith in prayer, and the answers he received were so remarkable that he came to be regarded as one highly favoured by God. One of the brothers fell ill; no suitable food for him was to be had. At the end of three days, spent by Columbanus and his monks in prayer, a man presented himself at the door of

[1] Neander, v. p. 39.

Per. III. Chap. 4.

the convent leading horses laden with sacks of provisions. He told them he had come in obedience to a sudden impulse to assist those who from love to Christ were enduring such privations in the wilderness. At another time a stranger priest, to whom Columbanus showed his granary, expressed his surprise that so small a store should suffice for the wants of so many; upon which Columbanus replied: "Let men but rightly serve their Creator, and they are secure from starvation, as it is written in the thirty-seventh psalm, 'I have never seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.' It is easy for that God to replenish the barrel with meal, who with five loaves of bread satisfied the five thousand."[1]

Columbanus found monachism in France in a state of decay, and the rule of Benedict almost forgotten. Through his exhortations and example the enthusiasm for the monastic life revived, and was spread throughout France; the three celebrated monasteries of Anegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines were founded by him.[2] He gave to his monks a new and stringent rule, borrowed from the rigid discipline of the Irish and Scottish monasteries;

[1] Id., pp. 39, 40.

[2] Luxeuil might be styled "the monastic capital of the Franks."—Montalembert, ii. p. 463. It was the site of the once famous Roman city and baths of Luxovium, "whose extensive ruins were then overgrown with jungle, and the forest around was said to have been strewn with marble statues" (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. p. 102); a proof how completely Roman civilisation had been swept away by the barbaric deluge.

his object being to keep them at severe labour, and to inure them to hardness and self-mastery. By implicit servile obedience, all self-will was to be mortified; all the motions of the body and even the tone of the voice were regulated, chastisement following closely upon every transgression.[1] Perpetual silence was imposed, except on urgent occasions. Meat and wine, with which Benedict had indulged the weak and ailing, were forbidden to all. One meal only was allowed, namely, in the evening.[2] "These excessive severities," says Montalembert, "discouraged no one. Columbanus up to the last day of his life saw an army of disciples

A.D. 585–610.

[1] Six strokes were the penalty for calling anything one's own, omitting to say Amen after the abbot's blessing, or to make the sign of the cross on one's spoon or candle, talking at meals, or failing to repress a cough at the beginning of a psalm. Ten strokes were the punishment for striking the table with a knife, or for spilling beer upon it. For heavier offences the number rose as high as two hundred, but in no case were more than twenty-five to be inflicted at one time. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of William Rufus, rebuked this discipline of the stick still practised in his time. An abbot complained to him that the youths under his care were incorrigible, notwithstanding all the stripes he administered. "You are always beating your boys," replied Anselm; "what sort of men will they grow up?" "Stupid and brutish," answered the abbot. "What else can you expect," said Anselm, "when you educate men into brutes?" "Is that our fault," answered the abbot; "we try to compel them in all manner of ways to be better, and yet we effect nothing." "You compel them!" exclaimed Anselm. "If you were to plant a tree in your garden, and pen it in on all sides so that it could not spread out its branches in any direction, and should afterwards transplant it, what kind of a tree would it become? A useless stock with crooked, tangled branches. And whose fault would it be but yours who caged it in this unnatural fashion?"—Robertson, ii. p. 28; Neander, *Memorials*, p. 440.

[2] Gallus would then no longer have had to confess the inferiority of the monks of Gaul to those of Egypt in the matter of abstinence.—See *ante*, vol. i. p. 430, note 2.

collect around him, in sanctuaries more numerous and more illustrious than those of Benedict. . . . The genius of Columbanus hovers over the whole of the seventh century, of all the centuries the most fertile in the number and fervour of its monastic establishments. But," he is obliged to add, "before the century was completed the rule of the great Irishman was everywhere replaced by the spirit and laws of his immortal predecessor."[1] It was, in fact, impossible that so inhuman a discipline should in the end supplant Benedict's wiser rule, or should long survive the life of its founder.

Columbanus, however, was not altogether devoid of tenderness, and his command over men was unbounded. Once he was summoned from the solitude to which he had retired, by the tidings that nearly all his monks in the monastery of Luxeuil were sick. He hastened thither and commanded them to rise up and go to work in the barn at threshing out corn. At the sound of his voice many of the monks, forgetting their malady, rose up and went to work. Very soon, however, he bade them desist, and telling them that they must allow a little refreshment to their bodies exhausted by disease, he placed food before them; they ate and became well. Like good men in all ages, Columbanus found retirement for reading and meditation necessary to his spiritual life, and he

[1] Neander, v. pp. 40, 41; Montalembert, ii. pp. 449–451.

might be seen from time to time wending his way into the dense forest for this purpose, bearing on his shoulder a copy of the Holy Scriptures. Although he insisted on the punctilious observance of outward practices, and imposed on his monks many devotional exercises which could not fail to become mechanical, yet he was careful to remind them that everything depends on the temper of the heart.[1] A.D. 585-610.

In his intercourse with popes and bishops Columbanus maintained the independent spirit of the Scoto-Irish Church. He wrote to Popes Gregory the Great and Boniface IV. on the vexed question of the time for keeping Easter, exhorting the former to reconsider the Paschal Cycle by which this festival was determined, without blindly following any former pope. "A living dog," he said, "may be better than a dead lion." He adduced the memorable example of the bishops Polycarp and Anicetus in the second century, who each maintained his own practice on this very question, and yet remained in mutual charity and unity.[2] He set the Church of Jerusalem above that of Rome; and he admonished Pope Boniface IV. that in proportion as the dignity of the Roman bishops was great, so ought their care to be great, lest by perversity they should lose it: "He only,"

[1] Neander, v. pp. 41, 42.

[2] See *Early Church History*, pp. 170 171

Per. III. Chap. 4.

he told him, "is the true key-bearer of the kingdom of Heaven, who by true knowledge opens the door for the worthy, and shuts it upon the unworthy, and he who acts otherwise can neither open nor shut." [1]

On the Easter question he became involved also with a synod of Frankish bishops who met in the year 602. Columbanus set before them the importance of occupying themselves with higher subjects. "It is true," he said, "that the diversity of customs and traditions has greatly disturbed the peace of the Church, but if we only strive in humility to follow our Lord's example, we shall acquire the power of mutual charity without taking offence at one another's failings. One thing I beg of you, that since I came hither a stranger for the sake of our common Lord, I may be suffered still to follow my own customs and dwell in peace, as I have done these twelve years beside the bones of my seventeen departed brethren." [2]

Columbanus' boldness in rebuking sin brought upon him the ill-will of the Frankish king Thierry II. and his wicked grandmother Brunehaut, and in 610 he was banished from the kingdom, and ordered to be taken back to Ireland. But the veneration he had inspired and the loftiness with which he vindicated his spiritual office

[1] Neander, v. pp. 43, 47.

[2] Ibid.; Robertson, ii. pp. 28, 29.

A.D. 602–613.

were such that it was some time before any one would venture to execute the order, and the attempt when it was at length made was defeated by a storm. Instead of returning home he and his companions proceeded to Switzerland. His chief disciple was Gallus,[1] a well-educated young man, inflamed with zeal against the pagan idolatry. At Tugium (the modern Zug) he set fire to the temples of the Alemanni (or Suevi[2]), and threw their idols into the lake. The monks were compelled to fly, Columbanus, forgetful of his Master's spirit, devoting the whole race of the barbarians to perdition. Coming to the Lake of Constance they were met by a Christian priest, who directed them to the remains of a Roman castle called Pregentia,[3] where they took up their abode. Here they rebuilt a ruined church, and supported themselves by fishing and horticulture. In common with the whole region of the Alps the country had become re-paganised, and the chief objects of worship were three statues in gilded brass. At a festival in honour of these idols the people assembled in unusual numbers, partly out of curiosity to see the strangers. Gallus preached to them in their own language, and then broke their idols in pieces and threw them into the lake.[4]

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[1] In Erse, Callech. [2] Suabians.

[3] Bregetium, Bregenz, at the eastern end of the lake.

[4] Neander, v. pp. 44–46.

Per. III. Chap. 4.

A romantic fable is related of this place. One silent night whilst Gallus was fishing, he heard from the highest peak the Spirit of the Mountains call to the Spirit of the Waters in the depth of the lake. "I am here," was the reply. "Arise then to my aid against these strangers, who have cast me from my temple; let us drive them out of the land." To which the Water Spirit answered: "One of them is even now occupied in my waters, but I cannot break his nets, for I am rebuked by the Name in which he prays."[1]

At the end of three years Columbanus left Pregentia, and crossing the Alps into Italy founded, near the city of Pavia, the celebrated monastery of Bobbio, A.D. 613.[2] When the time came for his master to set out Gallus was sick, and had to be left behind. As soon as he recovered he begged a deacon named Hiltibold, who was acquainted with the country, to conduct him into the vast forest on the south side of the lake, that he might find a spot for a hermitage. "The forest," said the deacon, "is full of wolves, bears, and wild boars." "If God be for us," answered Gallus, "who can be against us? He who delivered Daniel from the lions is able to defend me from the fangs of the wild beasts." After a day

[1] Milman, ii. pp. 103–107; *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, i. p. 2.

[2] "An outpost of the Catholic faith in the midst of the Arian Lombards."—Scott's *Ulfilas*, pp. 117–120. Afterwards famous for its library, and especially for its numerous palimpsests (books written over more ancient works from scarcity of parchment). Columbanus died here, A.D. 615.

spent in prayer and fasting they set out, and in the afternoon, when they had been travelling many hours, the deacon proposed they should sit down and refresh themselves, for they had taken with them some bread and a net to catch fish in the well-watered forest. But Gallus replied that he would not taste food until a place of rest had been shown him. At sun-down they came to a spot where the Steinach leaping down from the mountain had scooped out a basin in the rock, and where plenty of fish were seen swimming in the stream. Here they stopped, caught some fish in their net, and the deacon with a flint kindling a fire, they prepared themselves a meal. Before they sat down to eat, Gallus knelt in prayer, but being caught by a thorn-bush he fell prostrate to the earth. Hiltibold ran to lift him up, but he answered, "Let me alone, here is my resting-place for ever, here will I abide." When he had finished his prayer he set up a cross made out of a hazel rod, and suspended from it a little casket of relics which he wore round his neck.[1] A.D. 613–616.

On this spot he erected an oratory, with cells or huts for his companions, and began to instruct the wild youths of the country and train them as monks and ecclesiastics. The presents which Gallus received from the rich he distributed amongst the poor. One of his scholars said: "My

[1] Neander, v. pp. 46–48.

Per. III. Chap. 4.

father, I have a costly silver vessel beautifully enchased; if thou approve, I will reserve it to be used at the Holy Supper." Gallus answered, "My son, think of Peter's words, 'Silver and gold have I none.' Make haste and sell the cup for the good of the poor; my teacher Columbanus used to distribute the Lord's body in a vessel of brass." The abbacy of Luxeuil becoming vacant the brethren sent to invite Gallus to preside over them, but he refused to leave his charge in Switzerland. Some time before, the bishopric of Constance had been offered to him, but he did not aspire to ecclesiastical honour, and proposed instead his deacon John, a native of the country, who had studied the Scriptures under him. At John's consecration a great concourse of people assembled from all quarters, to whom Gallus declared the love of God as exhibited in creation and redemption, and traced the whole course of Divine Providence for the salvation of mankind. John, who went up with him into the pulpit, interpreted into German the discourse which his master delivered in Latin. Gallus died about A.D. 630.[1]

SECTION II. The next missionary from our islands of whom we shall speak, emanated not from the Irish but from the Saxon or Anglo-Roman Church. This was Winfrid, better known in history

[1] Other authorities say, A.D. 645 or 646. Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, pp. 452, 453; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Gallus, ii. pp. 601, 602.

as Boniface, a name given him by the pope. A.D. 616-722. He was a man of extraordinary energy, and his labours in the mission-field attained great success. He had no sympathy with the independence of the British Churches, but on the contrary constituted himself the ally and instrument of the papal see in extending the Roman discipline over a large portion of Central Europe, and in quenching every spark of independent practice and thought.

Boniface was born at Crediton in Devonshire in the year 680, and trained in a convent at or near Exeter. "The passion for foreign travel, which seemed innate in the monks of the British islands, combined with the loftier desire of devoting his life to the conversion of pagan nations, constrained him to leave his native land." From 715 to 722 he laboured mostly in Friesland, but in the latter year, seeing in a dream the prospect of an abundant harvest amongst the tribes in the interior of Germany, he directed his course to Hesse and Thuringia.[1]

During one of his journeys he arrived at a nunnery in the district of Trèves, on the banks of the Moselle. After service the abbess and her guests repaired to the common hall, and as was customary a portion of Scripture was read during meal-time. The reader was Gregory, a lad of fifteen, a nephew of the abbess, and but lately

[1] Neander, *Church History*, v. pp. 62-64.

returned from school. Boniface was pleased with the way in which the boy read his Latin Vulgate, and asked whether he understood what he had read? The boy, mistaking his question, read the words a second time. "Nay, my son," said the missionary, "that is not what I meant. I know thou canst read well enough, but canst thou translate the passage into thy own mother-tongue?" The lad confessed he was unable to do so, upon which Boniface himself translated it into German, and then made it the ground of a brief exhortation to the company. His words fell on the listening ear of the young Gregory like the spark which kindles a flame, and he was seized with an unconquerable desire to accompany the preacher in his mission, declaring that if he was not provided with a horse he would go on foot. He is known amongst the band of mediæval missionaries as Gregory of Utrecht.[1]

The next year Boniface was summoned to Rome by Pope Gregory II., who consecrated him bishop over all the Churches he should found in Germany, giving him permission to travel whithersoever he would. On this occasion he took a solemn oath of implicit obedience to the Apostolic see. Kneeling at the tomb of the Apostle Peter, he uttered the words: "I promise thee, the chief of the apostles, and thy representative Pope Gregory and

[1] Maclear's *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*, pp. 129, 130; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, ii. p. 799.

his successors, that with God's help I will abide in the unity of the Catholic faith; and if ever I find that the conduct of the presiding officers of churches contravenes the ancient decrees and ordinances of the Fathers, I will have no fellowship with such men, but will obstruct them all I can, and if unable to stop them, will report their conduct faithfully to the pope." By this transaction, observes Neander, the question was settled whether the German Church should be incorporated into the system of the Roman hierarchy, or whether there should proceed from it a reaction of freer Christian development.[1] This last would have taken place if the more free-minded British and Irish missionaries who were scattered among the German populations had acquired the preponderance. At Rome the danger which threatened from this quarter was well understood, and the commission which Boniface received was not only to convert the pagans, but quite as much to bring back to orthodoxy and obedience those whom unauthorized teachers had led astray.[2] A.D. 722–739.

Although Boniface had thus bound himself hand and foot to Rome, there can be no doubt whatever as to his zeal in labouring to turn the rude tribes from the darkness of paganism to the light of the Gospel. By the year 739 he had baptized nearly a hundred thousand of the inhabitants of Thuringia

[1] Such a reaction did occur, but eight centuries had to pass away first

[2] Neander, v. pp. 64–67.

and the neighbouring districts. These wholesale conversions, in effecting which he was powerfully seconded by the authority of Charles Martel, were no doubt many of them merely nominal; but the suppression of idolatry, the abandonment of savage heathen customs and the substitution of Christian worship and instruction, must have effected a great revolution in the minds and habits of the people.

At Geismar, in Upper Hesse, stood a gigantic and venerable oak, sacred to Thor, the god of thunder. With so much awe was this tree regarded that so long as it stood Boniface's preaching on the vanity of idols had little fruit. He resolved, as Neander puts it, to destroy one sensuous impression by means of another. Accompanied by his associates he repaired to the spot with a large axe. The pagan people stood round dark with rage, expecting nothing but that those who dared attack the sacred tree would be struck dead by the avenging deity. But when they beheld the huge tree fall prostrate under the vigorous blows of the missionaries, all their faith and confidence vanished. Boniface took advantage of the present feeling, and to make it lasting, caused a church to be constructed out of the timber of the oak, which he dedicated to the Apostle Peter.[1]

Boniface maintained frequent intercourse with England. The monasteries he founded were

[1] Ibid., pp. 69, 70.

peopled with monks and nuns from this country, who introduced various arts, and took with them books for the instruction of the youth. From Daniel bishop of Winchester, Boniface received wise counsel for his missionary work; and Eadburga, abbess of Minster in the Isle of Thanet, supplied him with clothes and books, amongst which was a copy of Peter's Epistles, written in gold letters, to excite the admiration of the ignorant people who came to hear him. His eyes being weak, he asked his former teacher, the abbot Wimbert, to have a copy of the Prophets engrossed for him in plain large characters and without abbreviations.[1] A.D. 739–741

Boniface's oath to oppose such as were not in harmony with the Romish tradition, did not remain a dead letter. He had several encounters with Church teachers of this description. One of these was Clement, an Irish missionary, of whom nothing is known save that he was married, and defended from Scripture the marriage of bishops, and that he denied the writings of Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great, and the canons of councils to be binding on the Christian. Another was Virgilius, also a native of Ireland, who was preaching the Gospel in Bavaria. An ignorant priest having, in the case of a baptism, pronounced the Latin formula incorrectly, Boniface declared

[1] Ibid., p. 71.

the baptism to be invalid. Virgilius protested, and appealed to the pope, who decided in his favour. His heresy indeed seems to have been scientific rather than theological, for when he afterwards presented himself as a candidate for one of the bishoprics founded by Boniface, the latter refused to accept him because he held the "unscriptural" opinion that the earth is a globe, and that consequently there are other men living under our feet. This time the pope agreed with Boniface, and directed that Virgilius should be deposed from the priestly office. Virgilius seems, however, to have succeeded in exculpating himself at Rome, for he afterwards became bishop of Salzburg and was enrolled amongst the "saints."[1]

That the anti-Romish opinions promulgated by the Irish missionaries in France and Germany were widely diffused is evident from a letter written to Boniface by Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741–752). "Thou hast found men wandering about, more numerous than the Catholic priests, and not ordained by Catholic bishops. False vagabonds are they, adulterers, murderers, effeminate, sacrilegious hypocrites, tonsured slaves who have fled from their masters. They meet with their abettors in conventicles, and exercise their ministry in strange places, such as the cellars of country-houses where their stupid folly may be concealed from the

[1] Ibid., pp. 83–87.

bishops." The pope's imputation of immoral conduct must be taken for what it is worth; the fact is established, on the best authority, that there existed in the eighth century in the heart of Europe, numerous teachers and congregations of Christians who were independent of the See of Rome, and protested aginst its errors.[1] A.D. 741–755.

But the malpractices and superstitions of the dominant see were sometimes too glaring for the honest English heart of Boniface. He fearlessly rebuked Pope Zacharias for allowing money to be demanded as the price of an archbishop's pall. In a letter to the same pope he complains of the bad example set at Rome to simple pilgrims from Germany; of the heathenish practices allowed there on the first of January; and of the public sale of amulets, which the women bought to hang round their arms. "When," he says, "the people return and report that such things are done under the very eyes of thy Holiness, my Christian instructions are not a little hindered of their effect." [2]

As his age increased, the sphere of Boniface's authority and influence widened. He was appointed archbishop of Mentz, and it was by his hand that Pepin the Little was anointed king. But his indefatigable labours were now drawing to their close. Committing his administrative work to younger men, he set out in the beginning of the

[1] Monastier, *History of the Vaudois Church* (translated), pp. 11, 12.

[2] Neander, v. pp. 87, 88.

Per. III. Chap. 4.

year 755 on a mission to Friesland, the scene of his early ministry, under the firm persuasion that he should never return. In the book-chest which he took with him wherever he went he carried a shroud for his body to be wrapped in, desiring that after his death it might be conveyed to the great monastery of Fulda, in Hesse, which he had founded. With a small retinue of clergy, monks and servants, some fifty in all, he embarked in a boat on the Rhine, and descended towards the Zuyder Zee. The little band traversed the country, founded churches, and baptized thousands of converts. It was the fourth of June; they had planted their tents on the banks of a little stream near Dokkum, in the north of Friesland. During the day a large number of new converts had been in attendance, and were to return on the morrow to receive the rite of confirmation.[1]

Early the next morning Boniface heard at a distance the sound of an approaching multitude, and full of joy came from his tent to meet them. But he soon found himself mistaken. The clash of weapons announced other than a friendly purpose. In fact the pagan priests, maddened by the success of Boniface and his coadjutors, had devoted the very day appointed for public admission into the Church, to vengeance on behalf of their gods. They seem also to have been lured by the

[1] Ibid., p. 99; *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Bonifacius Mogunt, i. p. 326.

gold and silver vessels which they supposed Boniface to carry about with him. On their approach the younger Christians drew swords to defend their bishop, but he checked the ineffectual resistance. Taking the relics in his hands, and exhorting his attendants not to fear those who were able only to kill the body, but to confide in their Lord who would soon bestow upon them the reward of everlasting glory, he calmly awaited the issue. He had not long to wait. Laying his head upon a volume of the gospels, he received the fatal blow: most of his followers perished with him. He was in his seventy-fifth year. According to his desire his body was carried up the Rhine, and buried in the monastery of Fulda.[1] A.D. 755.

Boniface was followed by Willehad, a Northumbrian, who preached in Friesland and North Germany, commencing in the district where his predecessor was slain. With him the stream of missionaries from Ireland and England to the continent seems to have come to an end.[2]

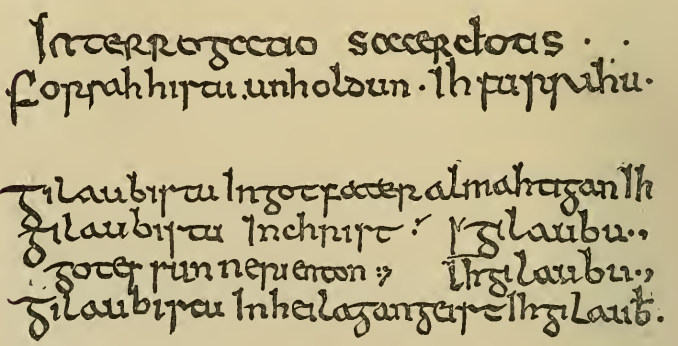
In receiving the German converts into the Church, the formula made use of was very simple. It is to be observed that this baptismal vow, written down by the priest and responded to by the catechumen, takes us back to the infancy of

[1] Neander, ibid. Boniface is distinguished from other missionaries of his age, in that not a single miracle is recorded of him.—Ibid., p. 82. The writer of the article Boniface, in the *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, says no missionary has been more eminent in labours since the Apostle Paul.—Vol. i. p. 327.

[2] Neander, v. p. 110.

Per. III. Chap. 4.

the German language. German literature may be said to have commenced with the foundation of the Church by Boniface. The art of writing cannot, outside the Roman pale, be traced back much if at all earlier than the eighth century, and for a long time the clergy were its only possessors. The earliest known transcript of the vow is preserved in the cathedral of Merseburg in the Prussian province of Saxony, and was written in the eighth century. The following is a fac-simile of it.[1]



Interrogatio Sacerdotis.

Forsahhistu unholdun? Ih fursahu.
Gilaubistu in Got Fater Almahtigan? Ih gilaubu.
Gilaubistu in Christ Gotes Sun Nerienton? Ih gilaubu.
Gilaubistu in Heiligangeist? Ih gilaub.

The priest asks.

Dost thou forsake the devil? I forsake.
Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? I believe.
Dost thou believe in Christ the Son of God, the Saviour? I believe.
Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit? I believe.

[1] From Kœnig's *Deutsche Literatur-Geschichte*, pp. 14, 15.

CHAPTER V.

The Mohammedan Conquest.

Section I. The subversion of the Eastern Church by Mohammed and his successors should give ample material for the Church historian to record. On the contrary, this chapter in history is one of the briefest and most barren. Within a short space of years Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt abjured the cross and prostrated themselves before the crescent. In her early days, when the Church was poor, despised, and few in number, she successfully resisted the whole weight and power of the Roman Empire; now that she had become wealthy and dominant, like Nebuchadnezzar's tree filling the earth and reaching up to heaven, she had not inward strength to withstand the first onset of a false religion. Resistance, it is true, was offered to the invaders, but it was with the sword, not with the Spirit; the annals of those years are barren of acts of faith. Where were the prophets boldly proclaiming the divine judgments, — the apologists, — the scholarly athletes wrestling with error,—the confessors,—the martyrs? The Eastern Churches were like costly VII. Cent.

Per. III. Chap. 5.

garments in some tropical country, into which the white ants have found their way; to the eye they are beautiful and perfect as when they were fashioned, but at the first rude touch they crumble to dust.

It may be argued that the two cases were different. Roman paganism sought wholly to stamp out Christianity; Mohammedanism, which shot at least some rays of truth into the dark places of the earth, respected and even reverenced the religion of Christ. This reverence however was in profession rather than in reality. The ancient Church would never have consented, no Church in which the Spirit of Christ dwelt could have consented, to the treacherous compact by which the Eastern Christians in the seventh century purchased immunity from the Moslems.[1]

There is no need to dwell upon the causes which produced this deplorable collapse; they have given their distinctive features to the foregoing pages, as well as to the volume to which the present work is a sequel. "What Mohammed and his caliphs found," writes Isaac Taylor, "in all directions whither their scimitars cut a path for them, was a superstition so abject, an idolatry so gross and shameless, Church doctrines so arrogant, Church practices so dissolute and so puerile, that the strong-minded Arabians felt themselves inspirited

[1] See below, the conditions which the Christians at Jerusalem accepted from Omar.

anew as God's messengers to reprove the errors of the world, and authorized as God's avengers to punish apostate Christendom. The son of the bond-woman was let loose from his deserts, to 'mock' and to chastise the son of the free-woman."[1] The eloquent apologist for Monachism thus describes the part played by monks and clergy in the cowardly surrender of the fortress at the first summons of the infidel. "After an age of unparalleled virtue and truthfulness, after having presented to the monastic life of all ages, not only immortal models, but also a kind of ideal almost unattainable,—the monastic order allowed itself to be overcome, through all the Byzantine Empire, by that enfeeblement and sterility of which Oriental Christianity has been the victim. . . . The monks of the East sank gradually into nothingness. Intoxicated by the double influence of courtierism and theological discord, they yielded to all the deleterious impulses of that declining society, of whose decay despotism was at once the result and the chastisement. . . . They could neither renovate the society which surrounded them, nor take possession of the pagan nations which snatched away every day some new fragment of the empire. They knew no better how to preserve the Church from the evil influences of the

VII. Cent.

[1] *Ancient Christianity*, i. p. 266. Of the seventh century Mosheim writes: "In this barbarous age religion lay expiring under a motley and enormous heap of superstitious inventions, and had neither the courage nor the force to raise her head or display her natural charms to a darkened and deluded world."—See *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iii. p. 958.

Byzantine spirit. Even the deposit of ancient knowledge escaped from their debilitated hands. They have saved nothing, regenerated nothing, elevated nothing. They ended, like all the clergy of the East, by becoming slaves of Islamism and accomplices of schism." [1]

Mohammed was born about A.D. 570; and his flight from Mecca to Medina, which forms the era of the Moslems under the name of the Hegira, took place in 622. Before his death in 632, he had subdued all Arabia and had commenced the reduction of Syria. His successors prosecuted the conquests thus begun. In 637 Jerusalem was taken; two years later the subjugation of Syria was completed, and that of Egypt in 641. Persia followed and North Africa; and in 711 the victorious Arabs, known in Europe under the name of the Moors, whom they had conquered, crossed over into Spain, and subjugated that country in about two years. Thence they overran France as far as the Loire, when the great victory of Charles Martel in 732 effectually checked their progress in Western Europe.

Mohammed was not ignorant of the Bible, and he borrowed largely of its theology and morality.[2]

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[1] Montalembert, i. pp. 376, 377.

[2] "His acquaintance, however, both with the Old and New Testament was small, fragmentary and inaccurate, not derived from the Scriptures themselves, but from Talmudic legends and apocryphal gospels, and, as we may confidently affirm, not drawn at first hand even from these."—Trench, *Mediæval Church History*, p. 47.

But the truth of which he thus possessed himself was inextricably mixed with errors and absurdities; and the Koran, notwithstanding the respect with which its author speaks of Christ, contains no trace of the doctrine of Redemption.[1] He proclaimed it as his mission to carry through the earth the knowledge of the one God and of himself as his prophet, and he waged relentless war against idolatry. "Believe or die," was the sole alternative offered to the pagan. Towards the Jews and Christians, "the people of the Book," as he styled them, he assumed a different attitude; they were not required to embrace the faith of Islam, but were suffered, under certain conditions including the payment of tribute, to worship in their own way. Nevertheless the oppressions to which they were subjected, and the bribes which were held out to converts, drew multitudes over to the new religion. Whole populations of Christians at once embraced the faith of the conquerors. "The only event in the human race," says Paley, "which admits of comparison with the propagation

[1] Some missionaries in 1831 visited in the prison at Cape Town a Hottentot under sentence of death. He was a Mohammedan convert, and was attended by the Moslem teacher. The missionaries requested him the next time the priest came, to ask if the Mohammedan religion afforded any means of relieving the conscience from the burden of sin? At their next interview they inquired what answer the teacher had given. He confessed, said the Hottentot, that no provision exists for such a need; and the latter accordingly told him that he renounced a religion which afforded no ray of hope for the anguish of a wounded conscience.—*Life and Labours of G. W. Walker*, pp. 25, 26.

Per. III. Chap. 5.

of Christianity is the success of Mohammedanism." With the single exception of Spain, Islam has never yet been suppressed in any country in which it has taken root.[1]

Mohammed was succeeded by Abu-beker, and two years afterwards by Omar. After the capture of Bostra, Damascus, Baalbec, and other flourishing cities, Omar sent his general Abu-Obeidah to besiege Jerusalem. This city since the time of Jerome had continued to be the resort of pilgrims and a very fountain-head of relics.[2] Its bishopric had been elevated to the rank of an independent patriarchate by the Council of Chalcedon.[3] In 615 Jerusalem was besieged by Chosroes II. of Persia, and taken with great slaughter, remaining for a brief period under Persian domination until conquered by the Emperor Heraclius in 628.

Abu-Obeidah encamped before its walls in A.D. 637. As the abode and burial-place of the ancient kings and prophets of the Hebrews, the Moslems regarded the city with profound veneration, and hesitated to begin the assault. The commanders

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[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iii. p. 997; Robertson, ii. pp. 35, 40, 41. In the last chapter of the Koran, Mohammed charges the Christians with idolatry, inasmuch as they take for gods their priests and monks, and *Christ the Son of Mary*, although they are commanded to worship one only God. As the Conquest went on, the feeling towards Christians became more bitter.—Ibid. Notwithstanding his professions, Mohammed treated the Jews of Arabia with great cruelty.—Gibbon, vi. pp. 339–341.

[2] See vol. i. p. 399.

[3] A.D. 451.—See *ante*, p. 37.

at the head of their divisions gave forth the morning prayer, and all the host with one accord repeated the words of the Koran, "O people, enter ye into the holy place which God has decreed for you." But the gates remaining closed, the siege commenced in earnest. On the eleventh day the Saracen general sent the besieged a letter: "We require of you to testify that there is but one God and that Mohammed is his Apostle, and that there shall be a day of judgment when God shall raise the dead out of their graves. If you confess this we will neither shed your blood nor meddle with your substance or children; but if you refuse, you must be our subjects and pay tribute: otherwise I will never leave you till I have destroyed your fighting men, and made slaves of your children." To this letter the Christians returned no answer, but after four months of severe fighting they lost heart, and Sophronius the patriarch sought an interview with Abu-Obeidah. To work upon his conscience the patriarch warned him that Jerusalem was the Holy City, and that those who fought against her would draw down on themselves the Divine displeasure. To which the Moslem answered: "We know that it is a noble city, and that our prophet Mohammed ascended from it to heaven, but *we* are more worthy to possess it than *you;* neither will we abandon the siege until God, as He has done with other places, shall deliver it into our hands." The patriarch, seeing further resistance to be useless,

A.D. 632–637.

Per. III. Chap. 5.

consented to surrender the city, but only to the caliph in person.[1]

Accordingly Omar, considering the possession of Jerusalem a matter of the first importance, left Medina and set out for the camp. Attended by a very small retinue, he rode upon a red camel, with a sack of sodden corn hung on one side, and of dates on the other; before him a huge skin of water, and behind a large wooden platter. His dress was of camel's hair, coarse and torn. Every morning before leaving his halting-place he repeated the morning prayer, and then turning to those who were with him, cried: "Praise be to God who has strengthened us with the true religion, and given us his prophet, with victory over our enemies, and the possession of their country. He gives increase to those who ask it, and fulfils grace to those who are thankful." Then filling his platter with the corn and the dates, they all ate together out of the same dish. As soon as he came within sight of the city Omar cried out "Allah Akbar![2] O God, give us an easy conquest."[3]

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[1] Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 205–207.

[2] God is great.

[3] Id., pp. 207, 208. Omar's character was remarkable for its simplicity, contrasting strongly with the luxury of his successors. He had no state or pomp; he lived in a mean house; his mornings were spent in preaching or praying at the mosque, and during the rest of the day he was to be found in the market-place, clothed in a tattered robe, administering justice to all comers and directing the affairs of his Empire.—Taylor's *Modern History*, p. 45.

After a brief parley the besieged surrendered on the following terms:— A.D. 637.

The Christians were to build no new churches.

The churches were to be opened to travellers and to all Mussulmans night and day.

Mussulmans on a journey must be entertained by Christians without cost three days.

The Christians were not to talk openly of their religion, nor make converts, nor hinder any from becoming Mohammedans; but they were not required to teach their children the Koran.

They were to pay honour to the Mussulmans by rising from their seats.

They were not to dress like the Mussulmans, but to keep to their own costume and always to wear a girdle. They were not to part their hair, nor use the same manner of speech as the Mussulmans, nor be called by their names.

They were not to ride on saddles, or wear arms, or use the Arabic language in the engraving of their seals.

They were forbidden to sell wine.

They were to set no crosses upon their churches, nor exhibit their crosses or books openly in the streets of the Mussulmans.

They were not to ring, but only to toll their bells.

No Christian might take a servant who had once belonged to a Mussulman.

They were not to overlook the Moslems in their houses.

Per. III. Chap. 5.

In addition to all this, they were to be assessed at such tribute as the conquerors thought fit to impose.[1]

Hereupon the gates were opened, and the caliph entered, accompanied by the patriarch with whom he conversed familiarly, asking many questions concerning the antiquities of the city. Sophronius gratified his curiosity, muttering to himself the while, in the words of Daniel, "The abomination of desolation is come into the holy place." At the Mohammedan hour of prayer,[2] as they were sitting together in the church of the Resurrection, Omar asked the patriarch to show him a place where he might perform his devotions. "Here," said Sophronius, "where thou now sittest." The caliph hesitating, Sophronius took him into the church of Constantine and laid a mat for him to pray upon. He still refused, and leaving the church went alone to the steps which led up to the east gate, and there kneeled down. Having finished his prayer he asked the patriarch if he knew why he had objected to pray in either of the churches. Sophronius answered that he did not know. "Had I done so," replied Omar, "as soon as I had departed the Moslems would infallibly have taken away from you the church in which I prayed, and so the article by which the possession

[1] Ockley, pp. 207–212.

[2] The Moslems have five set hours of prayer in the day,—at dawn, mid-day, afternoon, sunset, and evening.

The Mosque of Omar, Jerusalem.

of your churches is secured to you would have been made void. As it is, my praying on the steps of one may perhaps cause you trouble, but I will do what I can to prevent it." Calling for paper and ink, he wrote an order that the Moslems should not meet for prayer on the steps of Constantine's church, but only pray there one by one, and that the muezzin (the crier who calls the people to prayers) should not stand upon them. But the precaution availed little; for when Omar was gone, the Saracens took possession of the steps with half the porch, and built a mosque over the spot. From Jerusalem Omar proceeded to Bethlehem, and prayed in the church of the Nativity. Notwithstanding he gave a similar order, this also, after his departure, was appropriated by the Moslems.[1] A.D. 637.

Before he left Jerusalem Omar inquired for the place where Solomon's Temple had stood, and ordered the ground to be cleared and prepared for a mosque. The famous mosque bearing his name, now occupying this site, is not however his work, but was erected by the Caliph Abd-el-Melek, about A.D. 686.[2]

Until the eleventh century Jerusalem was subject to various Saracenic rulers, who alternately persecuted and taxed the Christians; but in 1086

[1] Ockley, pp. 213–215; Gibbon, vi. p. 430.

[2] This is the opinion of De Vogüé and the best authorities.—Porter, *Handbook for Syria*; Baedeker's *Palestine*.

she fell into the hands of new and more rigorous masters. These were the Seljukian Turks, who, after they had overrun almost the whole of Asia, took possession of Palestine. The tidings of the misery suffered by the faithful under these new tyrants spread throughout the Churches of Europe. Peter the Hermit, a monk of Amiens, a man of small stature but fiery soul, visited the afflicted city in 1095, and upon his return to Europe poured out his tale of woe at the feet of Pope Urban II. "The Saviour," so he averred, "had appeared to him, and charged him to arouse the Western nations for the deliverance of the Holy Land." Urban gave him his blessing, and Peter set forth with bare head and feet, a thick cord round his waist, and riding on a mule, to proclaim through Italy and France, to high and low, in churches and on highways, the wrongs of the faithful, and the foul desecration of the Redeemer's sepulchre. His rude glowing eloquence inflamed the hearts of his hearers, and when words and breath failed him he wept and groaned, beat his breast, and kissed the crucifix he carried in his bosom. Everywhere princes, nobles and people took up arms for the deliverance of the Holy City.[1]

In 1099 the Crusading army gained possession of Jerusalem.[2] The Christians held the city eighty-

[1] Robertson, ii. pp. 674, 675.

[2] The Christian conquerors effected an awful and unsparing massacre of their Mohammedan foes.

eight years, when it was retaken by Saladin; and, after being several times lost and recovered, was finally stormed by the Turks in 1244. Since this epoch, Jerusalem, the holy city of the Jews and the scene of the sufferings of Christ, has been in captivity to the Moslem. In 1358 the Turks crossed into Europe, and in 1453 took Constantinople and made it their capital. A.D. 637–641.

But we return to Omar. To the capture of Jerusalem succeeded that of Aleppo, Antioch, Tyre and Cæsarea, after which the victorious host marched down to Egypt, A.D. 641. Alexandria and the whole country fell before them, the inhabitants compounding for their lives, their fortunes, and the exercise of their religion, by the annual payment of two ducats a head. The library of Alexandria was the largest in the ancient world, and the men of learning and culture, for which that city had been so long distinguished, were not yet quite extinct. One of these, John surnamed the Grammarian, ingratiated himself with the Saracen general Amrou. The Arabians were as yet ignorant of the sciences and of every language except their own,[1] but Amrou, who possessed a philosophical mind, loved to converse with learned Greeks. John perceiving the respect shown him by Amrou, ventured one day to

[1] At a later period, after their conquest of Spain, the Mohammedan states took a foremost place amongst the nations in learning and science.

intercede with him on behalf of the library. "Thou hast," he said, "taken account of all the valuables in the city, and sealed up all the repositories and treasuries, but hast neglected the books. If thou hadst set any value upon them, I should not have ventured to ask for them, but since this is not the case, I pray they may be given to me." Amrou replied that he could not dispose of the books without first obtaining leave of the Caliph. Accordingly he wrote to Omar giving a favourable account of John, and acquainting him with his petition. The Caliph returned the well-known answer, "What is contained in the books thou speakest of is either agreeable to the Book of God [the Koran] or it is not. If it be, the Book is sufficient without them—if not, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with fatal fidelity; the precious volumes of paper or parchment were distributed as fuel to the baths of the city, and so immense was the quantity, that it was six months before they were consumed.[1]

In the old Christian countries of the East, especially in the less frequented parts of Syria and Palestine, there are great numbers of ruined

[1] Ockley, pp. 262-264; Gibbon, vi. pp. 451-454. The latter and some other authors have doubted the truth of the above story, but of later years several fresh Mohammedan authorities have been brought forward in support of it, and some of the best Oriental scholars consider it beyond question.—Milman in Ockley, p. 264, note.

towns and cities, whose condition shows that they did not sink by the process of a slow decay, but were suddenly abandoned in the meridian of their prosperity. Their ruin may have been in part due to the earthquakes which from age to age have laid waste those regions, but in many instances it was no doubt occasioned by the swift and desolating march of invading nations, too intent on further conquest to take up their abode in the cities which they overthrew and plundered. Such a hurricane swept over Syria under Chosroes I., King of Persia,[1] and over Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Asia Minor under Chosroes II.,[2] not many years before the invasion of the Saracens; and such a hurricane, probably still more disastrous, was the Saracen invasion itself. Whether due to the sword or the earthquake or both, the fact remains, that the life of many a rich and populous city of Syria and the adjacent lands was suddenly cut short at the time of which we are speaking; and that the ruins which survive have remained intact throughout the twelve hundred years which have intervened. A.D. 641.

The Count de Vogüé, speaking of the mountain district between Antioch, Aleppo and Apameia, says: "I am tempted to refuse the name of ruins to a series of towns almost untouched, or of which at least all the elements are found, sometimes

[1] A.D. 531–579.

[2] A.D. 590–628.

Per. III. Chap. 5.

overthrown, never dispersed, the sight of which transports the traveller into the midst of a civilization now lost, and reveals to him, so to say, all its secrets. In passing through these deserted streets and forsaken courts, these porticoes where the vine entwines itself round mutilated columns, one experiences an impression analogous to that which is felt at Pompeii, less complete perhaps, for the climate of Syria has not preserved its treasures as the cinders of Vesuvius; but more novel, for the civilization which one contemplates here is less known than that of the Augustan age. In fact these cities, which exist to the number of more than a hundred and fifty in a space of thirty or forty leagues, form a whole, bound together, belonging to the same epoch, and extending from the fourth to the seventh century of our era. We are here transported into the middle of the Christian society; we come upon its life, a liberal, opulent, artistic life; large houses built of huge blocks of squared stone, with covered galleries and balconies; beautiful gardens, wine-presses, cellars, and stone jars for preserving wine; large subterranean kitchens, and stables for horses; squares, surrounded by porticoes; elegant baths, magnificent churches supported by columns, flanked with towers, surrounded by splendid tombs. Crosses and monograms of Christ are sculptured on most of the doors, and numerous inscriptions may be read on the monuments. . . . But for the earth-

quakes, which have thrown down many walls and columns, nothing would be wanting but the roofs and floors of the buildings."[1] A.D. circ. 700.

Section II. The dreary blank which is presented by the Oriental Church under the dominion of the caliphs is somewhat relieved by the fame of a writer of the eighth century, John of Damascus.

He sprang from a Christian family of distinction in that city, on whom the Saracens conferred the Arabic name of Mansour. His father, Sergius, was treasurer to the caliph Abd-el-Melek, A.D. 685–705. Sergius was desirous of finding a tutor for his son, when the Saracen army brought to Damascus a band of captives taken in Sicily. Ever on the watch to redeem Christian slaves, Sergius visited them, and found amongst them an Italian monk named Cosmas, who was to be put to death. His executioners (no doubt Christian slaves) fell at his feet, and besought him to intercede with the Saviour for pardon of the crime they were about to commit. The Saracens inquiring who he was, Cosmas replied that he was only a simple monk, and burst into tears. Sergius wonderingly asked how one already dead to the world could weep so bitterly for the loss of life. The monk answered that he wept not for his life, but for the lost treasures of knowledge which would be buried

[1] Quoted in the Introduction by Dr. Williams to Neale's *History of the Patriarchate of Antioch*, pp. xxi-xxiii.

Per. III. Chap. 5.

with him. He then recounted his attainments, which embraced almost all the knowledge of the time. Here was just the man of whom Sergius was in search. Hastening to the caliph, he begged the life of Cosmas, and as soon as it was granted, gave him his freedom, and entrusted him with the education of his son.[1]

The youth made rapid progress in his studies, and Cosmas, when he had taught him all he knew, obtained reluctant permission to end his days in a monastery. John was sent for to court, where he was in a short time, against his own desire, promoted to an office of still higher trust and dignity than his father had held, being made vizier to the reigning caliph. It was the time when the Greek Emperor Leo the Isaurian was issuing his edicts against image-worship. The zeal which Leo showed in this matter, however his methods may have erred, seems to have sprung out of a genuine conviction that Christianity must be purified from this taint of idolatry, if ever it was to contend successfully with Islam, whose creed and practice was rigidly iconoclastic. He met with strenuous opposition from Pope Gregory II., as well as from his own patriarch Germanus, and a large section of the Eastern Church; but his most active opponent was John the new vizier. John composed three eloquent orations in favour of image-

[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iii. p. 409; Milman, ii. pp. 163, 164.

worship, which were disseminated throughout Christendom.[1] A.D. circ. 700–730.

Leo was vexed beyond measure at John's opposition, and according to a monkish legend resolved at whatever cost to rid himself of so formidable an adversary. Having obtained possession of a letter in John's handwriting, he set his notaries at work to forge one in the same characters addressed to himself, containing a proposal from John to betray the city of Damascus to the Christians. This letter the Emperor with specious magnanimity forwarded to the caliph. The ruse succeeded. On receiving the letter, the caliph commanded John to be brought before him. John denied all knowledge of the matter, but his protestations of innocence were unavailing, and his right hand was ordered then and there to be struck off. The legend goes on to relate that the sufferer, after a night spent in earnest prayer to the Virgin for the restoration of that hand which had laboured so diligently in the defence of herself and the saints, fell asleep and woke with it restored as it was before. A skin-mark was all that remained to show where the executioner's axe had passed. The caliph on hearing of the miracle sent for John and questioned him strictly. Unable to resist evidence so patent, he would fain have reinstated him in his office. John however craved permission to retire from

[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iii. p. 410; Milman, ii. p. 165.

Per. III. Chap. 5.

the world, and having disposed of all his possessions to his relations and the poor, entered the monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, the same to which his tutor Cosmas had withdrawn.[1]

There he was placed under an aged monk who put his humility and his obedience to the severest test; — uninterrupted silence, abstinence from writing and from all secular books, and employment in the most menial offices. On one occasion, as a trial of obedience, he was ordered to journey to Damascus, carrying a load of baskets of convent manufacture, and there, in the streets he had once traversed as a high officer of state, to risk the jeers and ill-usage of the crowd, by demanding an exorbitant price for his wares. After a while, however, the old monk was warned in a dream to prolong the discipline no further. "The flow of such precious streams of sacred learning and song must be no longer checked, for the strains of John of Damascus would surpass even the song of Moses and the minstrelsy of Miriam." Being now set free, John made up by his diligence for the years of enforced idleness. He composed a kind of cyclopædia of Christian theology, several controversial

[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, loc. cit.; Milman, loc. cit. The convent of Mar Saba is "perched like a group of nests, on the precipitous side of a deep glen," amidst barren rocks pierced with caves. Some two or three score of ignorant monks inhabit the monastery, and are subjected to severe discipline on a meagre vegetable diet. The tomb of John of Damascus is shown in the Basilica church. Tischendorff found here many interesting manuscripts.—Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 263–266; Tischendorff, *Travels in the East*, pp. 194–196; Baedeker.

works and many homilies and treatises. He is best known however by his hymns, in which he is thought to have excelled all the other Greek Fathers. He died peacefully in the convent between the years 759 and 767.[1] A.D. 730–767.

HYMN FOR ALL SAINTS.

By John of Damascus.

Those eternal bowers
  Man hath never trod,
Those unfading flowers
  Round the throne of God:
Who may hope to gain them
  After weary fight?
Who at length attain them,
  Clad in robes of white?

He who gladly barters
  All on earthly ground;
He who, like the martyrs,
  Says, "I will be crowned!"
He whose one oblation
  Is a life of love,
Clinging to the nation
  Of the Blest above.

Shame upon you, legions
  Of the Heavenly King,
Denizens of regions
  Past imagining!
What! with pipe and tabor
  Fool away the light,
When he bids you labour,—
  When he tells you,—"Fight!"

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[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iii. pp. 410 *et seqq.*

Per. III. Chap. 5.

While I do my duty,
Struggling through the tide,
Whisper thou of beauty
On the other side!
Tell who will the story
Of our *now* distress;
O the future glory!
O the loveliness![1]

A century after John there flourished another Greek poet, a native of Sicily, who was driven from his native country and his home by the invasion of the Mohammedans.[2] This was Joseph Studites,[3] the most prolific hymn-writer of the ancient Church. He lived for many years at the court of Constantinople. His longer poems are, says Dr. Neale, "insufferably tedious; the verbiage, the bombast, the trappings with which scriptural simplicity is *elevated* to the taste of a corrupt court, are scarcely to be paralleled."[4] He is more happy in his shorter hymns; and one, *The Return Home*, approaches more nearly to modern hymns of Christian experience than perhaps any other song of that early period which has come down to us.

THE RETURN HOME.

Safe home, safe home in port!
Rent cordage, shattered deck,
Torn sails, provisions short,
And only not a wreck;
But oh! the joy upon the shore
To tell our voyage perils o'er!

[1] Neale, *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, pp. 115–117.—J. T. Hayes.
[2] A.D. 830. [3] See below, p. 260, note. [4] Id., pp. 200, 201.

A.D. circ. 830.

The prize, the prize secure!
The athlete nearly fell;
Bare all he *could* endure,
And bare not always well:
But he may smile at troubles gone
Who sets the victor-garland on!

No more the foe can harm:
No more of leaguer'd camp,
And cry of night-alarm,
And need of ready lamp:
And yet how nearly he had failed,—
How nearly had that foe prevailed!

The lamb is in the fold
In perfect safety penn'd:
The lion once had hold
And thought to make an end:
But One came by with wounded side,
And for the sheep the Shepherd died.

The exile is at Home!
O nights and days of tears,
O longings not to roam,
O sins, and doubts and fears,—
What matter now (whate'er men say)
The King has wip'd those tears away?

O happy, happy Bride!
Thy widow'd hours are past;
The Bridegroom at thy side,
Thou all his own at last!
The sorrows of thy former cup
In full fruition swallowed up![1]

[1] Neale, p. 209.

CHAPTER VI.

The Paulicians.[1]

Per. III. Chap. 6.

Section I. From the time when Jerome so successfully quenched the sparks of light struck by Jovinian and Vigilantius, we meet with no attempt to reform the Church for more than two hundred years. Her slumber, which grew ever more profound, was not disturbed until the seventh century, when a religious awakening took place in the East.

The birthplace of the Paulician movement was Armenia, and the root from which they sprang is thought to have been the remnant of the Marcionites, that sect of the Gnostics which may be described as the most spiritual, as it was the most enduring.[2] As in the case of Vigilantius and Jovinian, no information has come down to us respecting this sect except from adverse sources. The two writers to whom we owe our knowledge of it are Peter of Sicily, and Photius. The former was a nobleman at the court of the Greek

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[1] So named, it is supposed, from the Apostle Paul, whose writings they especially valued.

[2] See *Early Church History*, pp. 99, 100.

Emperor Basil I., and was sent into Armenia VII. Cent.
to negotiate an exchange of prisoners with the Saracens. During his residence of nine months in that country (A.D. 870), he inquired into the history and observed the practices of the Paulicians. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, was the most learned man of his age: by his writings he caused or at least hastened the disruption of the Greek from the Roman Church.[1]

The origin of the Paulician Church is traced to the following circumstance. In the middle of the seventh century there resided at the village of Mananalis, not far from Samosata, a man named Constantine, who gave hospitable entertainment to a certain deacon returning from captivity, probably among the Saracens. The grateful deacon presented his host with a manuscript containing the Gospels and Paul's Epistles, neither of which, as it would appear, he had ever seen before. Constantine applied himself earnestly to the study of these sacred books, especially of the Epistles, which made a deep impression upon him, and gave an entirely new direction to his thoughts and to his life. Unhappily his mind was preoccupied with the Oriental dualist ideas familiar in the Gnostic systems, which represented the creation

[1] Neander, v. pp. 337–341; Mosheim, ii. pp. 204, 242, 243, 253, note; *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, by Arthur J. Evans, 1876, p. xxv. The estrangement of the Eastern and Western Churches was not consummated until A.D. 1054, when the pope and the patriarch mutually excommunicated each other.—Gieseler, ii. pp. 475–482.

of the world as the work of a spirit at enmity with the perfect God; and when he read in the New Testament of the opposition of darkness to light, flesh to spirit, and the world to God, he seems to have mixed this pure Christian teaching with the alloy which he had derived from the Marcionites. None the less however did Constantine believe himself called to stand forth as an apostolical reformer. To mark his vocation he took the name of Silvanus, and this example became a custom in the sect, all the more distinguished teachers who succeeded him exchanging their birth-names for those of Paul's companions.[1]

Constantine laboured with great assiduity in his work of reformation twenty-seven years, and made many converts, both from the Church and from the followers of the Persian sage Zoroaster. The progress of the new society naturally provoked hostility, and about the year 684 the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus sent an officer of his household named Symeon into Armenia, with a commission to put Constantine (Silvanus) to death, with such of his followers as should persist in their errors, and to send to the bishops for instruction in the true doctrine all who were willing to recant. Symeon caused Constantine to be brought before him, and having collected a large body of his adherents, he had them drawn up opposite to

[1] Neander, v. pp. 341, 342; Robertson, ii. p. 178.

their leader, and commanded them to stone him. Instead of obeying, all with one accord let fall the stones with which they had been armed, except a young man named Justus, the adopted son of Constantine, who with base ingratitude hurled his stone against his benefactor, and as the historian exultingly relates "slew the heretic as David did Goliath."[1] A.D. circ. 684-690.

But Symeon, when he heard the arguments of those who were handed over to the bishops, and remarked the sincerity of their conduct, found himself attracted towards them. In this state of mind he returned to Constantinople, where he remained three years, until his convictions prevailing over all other considerations, he was constrained to go again into Armenia to cast in his lot with the persecuted Paulicians. He was accepted as their leader, and assumed the name of Titus. After ruling the Church three years, and inducing many to join it, he and his followers were, by the treacherous Justus, accused of heresy before the bishop of Colonia.[2] At the instance of this bishop, the Emperor Justinian II. in the year 690 gave orders that the Paulicians should be collected together and interrogated, and that those who continued pertinacious should be committed to the flames. Titus and the bulk of the disciples

[1] Neander, ibid.; Robertson, ii. p. 180. The place received the name of "The Heap" (of stones).

[2] Now Calahissar.

appear to have remained steadfast, and a huge funeral pile being erected near the place of Constantine's death, they were cast upon it and burned alive.[1]

One of those who escaped named Paul was now elected leader, and before his death he appointed to succeed him his eldest son Gegnæsius, whose name he changed to Timothy. Under this man the sect became divided into two parties. Gegnæsius held that spiritual gifts are communicated by tradition, and depend on the regularity of succession. His younger brother Theodore, who also aspired to the leadership, refused to acknowledge this rule, and maintained that he himself had, without ordination, received the Spirit from the same Divine source as his father.[2]

During the reign of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian,[3] fresh complaints were lodged at Constantinople against the Paulicians, and Gegnæsius was summoned to appear before the Patriarch. At his examination he is said to have baffled his accusers by using words in a double sense.

Patriarch. Why hast thou left the Catholic Church?

Gegnæsius. I never had the remotest desire to forsake the Catholic Church, within which alone salvation is to be found. (By the Catholic Church,

[1] Neander, v. p. 343; Robertson, ii. pp. 180, 181; Elliott, *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, ii. p. 255.

[2] Neander, ibid.

[3] A.D. 717–741.

however, he is said to have meant the Paulician community, called to restore the Church of Christ to its primitive purity.)

Patriarch. Why dost thou refuse to reverence the Mother of God ? [1]

Gegnæsius. Anathema to all who refuse reverence to the Mother of God, into whom Christ entered and from whom He came, the Mother of us all. (He is said to have here meant the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of the divine life.)

Patriarch. Why dost thou not adore the Cross ?

Gegnæsius. Anathema to all who refuse to venerate the Cross. (By this symbolical name he understood Christ himself.)

Patriarch. Why dost thou despise baptism, and the body and blood of Christ ?

To these questions also, sheltering himself under a mental reservation, Gegnæsius returned replies which satisfied the Patriarch. A favourable report of the examination being made to the Emperor, Gegnæsius received letters of protection, securing him against further complaints and persecution. The fortunate issue of the trial, uncommon in such matters, is probably due to an affinity on the part of the Emperor Leo himself with the Paulicians. The sect was strenuously opposed to image-worship, and Leo was the originator of the crusade in the East against this idolatry.[2] It is not unlikely,

[1] *Theotokos ;* see *ante*, p. 4.

[2] See *ante*, p. 244.

Per. III. Chap. 6.

therefore, that the Patriarch had received secret instructions to leave the door open for Gegnæsius' escape.[1]

On the death of Gegnæsius, who after an active service of thirty years was cut off by the plague, the sect declined. Within, it was rent by schism; without, the advancing sword of the Saracen conquerors caused many of the Paulicians to leave their native country, and to seek a new home in Asia Minor. Here they were still further reduced by the misgovernment of unworthy rulers, and were in danger of extinction, when a new chief appeared and led them back to the old path of service and suffering.[2]

Section II. This new leader was a young man named Sergius, a native of a village in Galatia, who had been brought up in the Catholic Church. The circumstances of his conversion are remarkable. We have seen how the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries agree in commending the study of the Holy Scriptures by all men. Gradually, however, this source of light became closed; instinct had taught the priesthood that the surest way to preserve their assumed authority was to withhold the volume of Divine truth from the eyes of the vulgar.[3] Sergius was one day addressed by

[1] Neander, v. pp. 343-345.

[2] Ibid., pp. 345, 346.

[3] Gieseler says that it was not from any ecclesiastical regulation, but

a Paulician woman in the following manner: "I hear, sir, that thou excellest in science and erudition, and art a man of high moral character; tell me then, why dost thou not read the sacred Gospels?" "Because," answered Sergius, "it is not lawful for us of the laity to read those books, but only for the priests." The woman replied, "It is not as thou supposest, for there is no respect of persons with God. He willeth all men to come to the knowledge of the truth. But your priests corrupt the word of God, and would conceal the mysteries which are contained in the Gospels, and this is the reason why detached portions only of Scripture are read in the churches." She then asked him of whom it was that our Lord spoke (Matt. vii. 22, 23), who had prophesied in his name and wrought miracles, but whom He would nevertheless refuse to own; or who were the sons of the kingdom of whom our Lord says that they should be thrust out of it (Matt. viii. 12). "They are those," said she, "whom you call saints, of whom you say that they work miraculous cures, and expel evil spirits, those whom you honour, whilst you neglect to honour the living God." These words sank deep into the heart of Sergius. Like his predecessor Constantine, he commenced at once to study Paul's Epistles; and was not

A.D. 801–835.

from a popular delusion, that the laity refrained from reading the Scriptures.—Vol. ii. p. 209, note. But what was the origin of the delusion? And what means did the clergy take to dispel it?

Per. III. Chap. 6.

slow to perceive the wide difference which existed between the teaching of the Apostle and the effete forms of the State religion. At the same time, like Constantine, he seems to have suffered his theology to be marred by the Gnostic Dualism.[1]

The name which Sergius assumed was Tychicus. For thirty-four years[2] he preached and taught with indefatigable zeal, traversing every province of Asia Minor. "I have," he said, "run from east to west and from north to south, till my knees were weary, preaching the Gospel of Christ." Like the Apostle he supported himself by his own hands, following the trade of a carpenter. His strict morality and gentle manners extorted commendation even from his enemies, although they pretended to regard these virtues as so many marks of hypocrisy. In his teaching it was his custom first to present the practical requirements of Christianity, and afterwards, when he had gained the ear of his audience, to inveigh against the dominant Church. Many of the laity were attracted by his preaching, and even monks, nuns and priests became his willing auditors. An involuntary testimony to his character, as well as to the extent of his influence, is borne by the historian Peter. He styles him, "the most mighty champion of the devil, a fierce wolf in a sheepskin who has changed many from sheep into wolves;

[1] Neander, v. pp. 346, 347; Robertson, ii. p. 182.

[2] A.D. 801–835.

a deceitful pretender to virtue, who, under this disguise, has beguiled many, and who has trodden under foot the Son of God [the mass] and counted the blood of the covenant an unholy thing." Sergius indeed, if his words have been faithfully reported, became intoxicated with his own success. In one of his letters to his flock are these words: "I am the porter and the Good Shepherd, and the leader of the body of Christ, and the light of the house of God. I am with you always, even unto the end of the world; for though I may be absent in the body, yet I am with you in the Spirit."[1] A.D. 801–835.

At first the missionary labours of Sergius fell within a favourable period. There was in the Greek Church at this time a handful of ecclesiastics who considered it unchristian to coerce heretics with the sword, declaring that priests, whose duty it is to lead men to repentance, ought not to be partakers in the shedding of blood. Influenced by these enlightened men, or impatient of the domination of the bishops, the Emperor Nicephorus[2] refused to be the tool of the hierarchy in the persecution of dissenters. So long as he lived therefore the Paulicians enjoyed tranquillity. But when Michael I. (Rhangabe)[3] succeeded to the throne the conditions were changed. At the instance of the Patriarch of Constantinople it was determined

[1] Neander, v. pp. 347–349. [2] A.D. 802–811. [3] A.D. 811–813.

Per. III. Chap. 6.

to compel all heretics to return to the Catholic Church. The milder of the clergy remonstrated. Theodore, abbot of the monastery of Studium in Constantinople,[1] although a zealous defender of the Church-faith, and even a fanatical supporter of image-worship, honourably distinguished himself on this occasion. Writing to the bishop of Ephesus, who had declared that to put Manichæans to death was "a glorious work," he asks: "How sayest thou? Our Lord commanded that the tares and the wheat should grow together until the harvest; how then canst thou call the rooting up of the tares a 'glorious work?'" He quotes Chrysostom on the same Scripture passage: "This the Lord spoke, foreseeing that wars would be waged and blood shed and slaughter perpetrated. We are not to kill heretics, else would war rage for ever in the earth. And if ye begin to use the sword and slay heretics, many saints also will inevitably be destroyed with them." "Which thing," adds Theodore, "has already happened in our time. Neither ought we to pray *against* the teachers of error but *for* them, as our Lord prayed on the Cross for those who knew not what they did."[2]

But a few individual voices availed nothing against the dominant spirit. Iconoclasts and

[1] And thence called *Studites*.

[2] Epistle (No. 155) to Theophilus bishop of Ephesus, *Opera*, *Sirmond*, v. pp. 495, 496; Neander, v. pp. 351, 352.

image-worshippers alike concurred in persecuting the heretical sects. Leo the Armenian,[1] successor to Michael, although still more determined in his hostility to image-worship than his predecessor the Isaurian, sent a bishop and an abbot to coerce the Paulicians into conformity. In the discharge of their commission these inquisitors acted with such severity that the inhabitants of Cynoschora in Armenia rose up and slew them. To escape the Imperial vengeance, the insurgents fled to that part of Armenia which had been conquered by the Saracens, and were received with open arms. They soon fell into a lawless manner of life, made frequent inroads into the Imperial provinces, and brought back many captives of whom they made proselytes. Against these excesses Sergius, who had joined them, set his face; but his remonstrances were unheeded. After governing the community in their new location for several years, whilst he was one day at work in the mountain alone, felling timber for his trade, he was attacked by a Catholic zealot who wrested his axe from his hand and cleft him in twain, A.D. 835. After his death no one ventured to take his place, and the community was governed by a Council of "Associate Itinerants."[2] A.D. 801–835.

For a few years the Paulicians enjoyed some repose; but on the re-establishment of image-

[1] A.D. 813–820.

[2] Ibid., pp. 353, 354, 365.

Per. III. Chap. 6.

worship under the regency of Theodora in 842, the work of extermination was resumed. All endeavours to win them back to the Church, either by arguments or threats, being unsuccessful, the sword was once more unsheathed against them. The slaughter was terrible in the extreme, rivalling that of the Albigenses and Waldenses at a later period. It is said that no fewer than 100,000 persons were put to death.[1]

Amongst the victims was the father of Carbeas, a military officer. Exasperated by the fate of his parent, Carbeas, himself a Paulician, renounced his allegiance to the Empire, and with five thousand followers went over to the Saracens. They were eagerly welcomed by the Caliph of Bagdad, embraced the religion of Mohammed, and joined the Saracens in invading the Greek Empire. The Emperor Michael III.,[2] who marched against them, was defeated under the walls of Samosata; and in the reign of his successor, Basil I.,[3] Chrysocheir, the son-in-law of Carbeas, conducted his victorious troops through Asia Minor, pillaged many cities, profaned images and relics, and finished by stabling his horses in the cathedral at Ephesus. Basil was reduced to sue for peace, which Chrysocheir refused, except on the intolerable condition that the East should be given up to "the servants of the Lord." The

[1] Robertson, ii. p. 184. [2] A.D. 842–867. [3] A.D. 867–886.

war was renewed, Chrysocheir was in his turn defeated, and being slain, his head was carried to the Emperor, who gratified his revenge by piercing it with arrows.[1] IX.–XI. Cent.

But the sun of the Paulician Church did not set altogether in blood. A numerous body of this people had been transported into Thrace and Bulgaria in the eighth century by the Emperor Constantine Copronymus; whither also, about the year 970, another and still larger migration from Armenia took place by direction of the Emperor John Zimisces. They were chosen on account of their valour to guard the Balkan frontier of the Greek Empire, and were planted near Philippopolis. Here they maintained their existence as a separate Church, and we shall have to speak again of their influence in Europe.[2] The theological Emperor Alexis Comnenus,[3] coming into Thrace, disputed with their leaders several days in succession from morning to evening. Many are said to have been converted by his arguments, but the opinions sought to be suppressed were also by this very means more widely spread. In Armenia, in spite of persecution, the sect continued long to flourish either under its original or other names.[4]

Section III. By their enemies the Paulicians are usually styled Manichæans, a favourite name

[1] Robertson, ii. pp. 184, 185. [2] See below, p. 425. [3] A.D. 1081–1118.
[4] Gibbon, vii. pp. 146, 147; Neander, viii. p. 295.

Per. III. Chap. 6.

for heretics during the Middle Ages. But their tenets seem to have been Gnostic rather than Manichæan, Peter of Sicily himself, although he makes frequent use of the latter epithet, declaring that "the Paulician teachers detest Buddha and Manes, and condemn Paul of Samosata with the greatest alacrity."[1] Amongst other errors, if we may trust the evidence which has come down to us, they rejected the Old Testament, with the Epistles of Peter and some other portions of the New.[2] Many may be ready to doubt the claim of such heterodox professors to be true Witnesses for Christ, and justly indeed in the later stages of their history, when they became a military power. But with all their errors and faults, they wrought a good work in the midst of a corrupt Church, leading a godly life, and on many most important doctrines pointing men back to the first principles of the Gospel.

Thus the Paulicians maintained that the multiplication of external rites had imperilled the true life of religion. They contended against dependence on the magical effect of the Sacraments, the use of which indeed they entirely discarded. It was, they declared, by no means Christ's intention to institute water-baptism as a perpetual ordinance;

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[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 227. The Gnostic speculations were wild in the extreme. Their nature is to some extent indicated in the *Early Church History*, pp. 94–96.

[2] Neander, v. pp. 369–371.

by baptism He meant the cleansing work of the Holy Spirit. So too, they held that eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ consists in coming into vital union with Him through his word. They despised the wood of the cross, then an object of universal adoration, and protested against the worship of the Virgin Mary. Although their doctrines fostered the practice of strict morality [1] no trace is to be found of the ascetic spirit; on the contrary, they treated the Church fasts with contempt. Learning from the New Testament that all believers are one in Christ, they rejected the distinction of clergy and laity, and protested against the assumption of the Jewish priesthood by the Christian ministry. They had amongst them rulers and Church officers, but these were not distinguished by dress or badge, any more than by a supposed peculiar holiness. Their chief men were styled Apostles or Prophets; next, Teachers and Pastors, Itinerant Messengers, and lastly, Notaries or Transcribers of the Sacred Scriptures. As time went on the Transcribers acquired greater authority than the Prophets or Teachers.[2]

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[1] The Paulicians were by their enemies charged with gross immorality. Neander says that if such tendencies existed they were "offshoots, growing out of a departure from the original spirit of the sect." Gieseler thinks there may at first have been some foundation for the charge, but that Sergius during his government effected a reformation.—Neander, v. p. 367; Gieseler, ii. pp. 210, 211.

[2] Neander, v. pp. 362–367; Mosheim, ii. p. 256.

Per. III. Chap. 6.

Out of the Paulicians and a kindred sect called the Euchites, arose the Bogomiles,[1] in whom, as in the former, a clearer insight into spiritual truth than that of the Church around them was marred by visionary fancies, even so far as to deny that Christ had a real body. This sect made numerous adherents both amongst the clergy and laity, in Constantinople and the neighbouring country. The Emperor Alexis Comnenus, finding that the heresy had covertly made its way amongst the chief families at his court, set himself to track it out, and if possible extinguish it. Certain members of the sect were arrested, and disclosed under torture the name of their leader—Basilius, an aged monk—who was accordingly brought to the palace. The Emperor treacherously affected to treat him with respect, invited him to sit with him at table, and professing a desire to join the brotherhood, requested to be instructed in their doctrines. Basilius was at first mistrustful of these fair advances, but at length fell into the trap, and fully expounded to the Emperor all the tenets of the sect. There was a curtain hung across the room; and when the Emperor had obtained the information he wanted the curtain was withdrawn, and ranks of notables, spiritual and secular, with the Patriarch Nicholas at their head, met the astonished gaze of Basilius. A notary had been employed in

[1] Slavonic: *Bog*, God; *z'milui*, have mercy.—A. J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, p. xxv.

taking down all that he said. Seeing no way of escape, the old man declared that he was ready to suffer the loss of all things for conscience sake.[1] X.-XI. Cent.

In consequence of this discovery many persons of all ranks were arrested as Bogomiles, of whom some confessed and others denied the charge. To separate the innocent from the guilty, the Emperor had recourse to a stratagem. He caused them all to be brought into one of the public squares, in presence of a vast assembly, in the centre of which he himself was seated on a throne. One of the abuses against which this people testified was the worship of the Cross, and accordingly this symbol was used as a test. Two great fires were kindled, at one of which a cross was erected. The Emperor proclaimed that being unable to distinguish between Catholics and Bogomiles, he had resolved to put the whole number to death; those, therefore, who desired to die as believers must separate themselves from the rest, and passing to the fire with the cross, adore the instrument of the Saviour's passion. When this was done he directed both companies to be brought before him, and addressing those whom he supposed he had thus proved to be orthodox, he spoke a few words of admonition and dismissed them. The rest he sent back to their prison, where himself and the Patriarch laboured to reclaim them, but with little

[1] Neander, viii. pp. 277–288.

Per. III. Chap. 6.

effect. The few who recanted were pardoned; the rest were condemned to perpetual durance.[1]

Basilius, who would listen to no persuasion, was as the leader of the sect sentenced to be burned in the Hippodrome. As he took his way to the stake he sang the thirtieth psalm: "I will extol Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast raised me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me." He is said to have expected that the flames would not be suffered to touch him, but that angels would descend and snatch him away. But when he came nearer and beheld the curling volume of the fire, his heart melted, and clasping his hands together he held them before his eyes. Still he did not draw back; faith revived, and he witnessed a good confession unto death, A.D. 1119.[2]

The Bogomiles were too widely spread in the Greek Empire to be easily rooted out. A venerated monk, Constantine Chrysomalos, who by his writings contributed to the diffusion of their doctrines, was condemned at a synod held at Constantinople in 1140. He taught that "all singing and prayer, all participation in the outward rites of the Church, and study of the Scriptures, is vain unless accompanied by that inward change by which man is delivered from the power of evil. Although a man should know by heart every word of Scripture, and in the pride of that

[1] Ibid., pp. 288, 289. [2] Ibid.

knowledge pretend to teach others, still it would profit him nothing unless accompanied by that higher instruction by which the soul itself is transformed." [1] XII. Cent.

Contemporary with him was Niphon, also a monk, who by his pious and strict life won universal reverence. He was ignorant of classical learning, but familiar with the Holy Scriptures, and he maintained correspondence with many bishops, especially in Cappadocia. This man was condemned by the Patriarch Michael to perpetual confinement in a monastery; but Michael's successor Cosmas, a man of singular piety and benevolence, restored him to liberty and made him his table companion. As Cosmas refused to abandon Niphon after the latter had been condemned by a synod, sentence of deposition was passed upon himself, upon which he retorted that it was "the Church which was corrupt, and that he himself was like Lot in the midst of Sodom." [2]

The Bogomile doctrines spread from Thrace and Bulgaria to the Sclavonian country of Bosnia, which thus in the twelfth century became the seat of a numerous Protestant Church. The pope, who at this very time was attempting to extinguish in Western Europe the light which two centuries before had been kindled by the Paulician missionaries,[3] extended his powerful arm towards the East

[1] Ibid., pp. 289, 290. [2] Ibid., pp. 292-295.

[3] See below, p. 245.

Per. III. Chap. 6.

to bring back the Bosnians to the Catholic faith. He succeeded for a while in recovering the Ban or sovereign, who was also the head of the sect, but a few years afterwards, 1199, that prince fell again into heresy, and his dominions became the asylum for the persecuted Albigenses, 1207–1218.[1] As soon however as the work of extirpation in Languedoc and Provence, begun by Pope Innocent III., was completed, his successors again endeavoured to strangle the reformed religion in the Bosnian mountains. The brother of the King of Hungary was the De Montfort of this new crusade, and in 1238 invaded Bosnia with a large army. Similar inroads were repeated for more than two centuries; the country was laid waste, cities were sacked, heretics burned, butchered, and cast into dungeons. But the faith of the Bogomiles was exceedingly tenacious of life; and in the fifteenth century we find them still as numerous as ever, and making common cause with the followers of John Huss. In 1459 the Ban Stephen, a Catholic, made a last attempt to root out his dissenting subjects, and it is said drove away 40,000 of them into the Herzegovina. The expulsion however of this large number did little to diminish the strength of the party at home, and in 1463, the Turkish conquest of the Balkan cut short all such arbitrary proceedings, and once for all delivered the oppressed

[1] See below, p. 539; A. J. Evans, pp. xxviii, xxxiv, xxxv.

people from their Christian tyrants. They refused to strike a blow for their sovereign, and even hastened to surrender to the infidels their towns and fortresses.[1] XIII.-XV. Cent.

[1] Id., pp. xxxvi–xlii. The intelligent traveller from whom we have derived this information respecting the Bogomiles of Bosnia discovered, often in the mountain gorges, many singular sepulchres. They bore upon them various devices, but very seldom the figure of the cross; the Bosnians of the present day call them the tombs of the Bogomiles.—Pp. 170, 177.

CHAPTER VII.

Witnesses from the Eighth to the Tenth Century.

Per. III. Chap. 7.

Section I. It is a matter for devout thanksgiving to the Divine Head of the Church that during the darkest period of its history a succession of true Witnesses was ever found, by whom either the life of Christianity was preserved or the much needed work of reformation attempted.

One of the most illustrious of these was our countryman Alcuin.[1] He was born of a noble Northumbrian family, in the same year in which Venerable Bede finished his course, A.D. 735, and was brought up from infancy in the school at York founded by archbishop Egbert, Bede's disciple. His master was Ethelbert, afterwards archbishop of York. The course of instruction embraced a fair knowledge of the Latin poets and of the Greek Fathers, with as much Hebrew as could be learnt from the study of Jerome. The library contained books in all these three languages, and included the works of Aristotle and Cicero. Alcuin succeeded Ethelbert as head of the school, which

[1] See *ante*, p. 203, where we have already spoken of Alcuin's part in carrying the learning of Jarrow and York on to the Continent of Europe.

reached its highest reputation under his direction, many youths from distant places resorting thither.[1] A.D. 735–800.

Charles the Great (Charlemagne) was then the chief patron of learning in Europe. The ignorance this monarch perceived in the abbots and bishops caused him to issue a circular letter, exhorting them to the diligent pursuit of literary studies that they might better understand the mysteries of holy writ. For the promotion of the same object he founded his celebrated Palatine School.[2]

Alcuin several times visited France and Italy, and was on two occasions presented to Charles, who in 781 urged him to join his court and assist him in his educational work. Accordingly Alcuin removed to France about 782, and was endowed by Charles with the revenues of two monasteries. Here, besides directing the Palatine School and organising others on the same model, he employed himself in writing and revising books for educational and ecclesiastical purposes, and in correcting the Vulgate translation of the Bible, which, through the negligence and ignorance of transcribers, had become in many places unintelligible. On the occasion of Charles's coronation as Emperor at Rome, A.D. 800, Alcuin sent him a copy of this great work.[3]

[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Alcuin, i. pp. 73–76.

[2] *Schola Palatina*, school of the palace. Aix-la-Chapelle, and Ingelheim near Bingen, were the Emperor's chief residences. The school probably followed the court.

[3] Neander, v. pp. 213, 214.

Per. III. Chap. 7.

Charles himself did not disdain to become Alcuin's pupil, and calls him his "most beloved teacher in Christ." He frequently sought his help in difficult passages of Scripture, and when absent kept up a familiar correspondence with him, in which Alcuin was accustomed to express his opinions with great freedom. The King's studies embraced the chief science of the age. "He spent," says Eginhardt, "much time with Alcuin, the most learned man of the day, in acquiring rhetoric and logic, and especially astronomy. He learned from him the art of computation, and with profound thought and skill calculated the courses of the planets."[1] The other savants of the court often joined the King and Alcuin in their studies: each was known by some classic or Scripture name. Charles himself was David; Angilbert, his chief confidant, was Homer; Alcuin, Horace; Theodulf bishop of Orleans, Pindar; Eginhardt, Bezaleel: the royal daughters were also admitted and had their appropriate names.[2]

In 790 Alcuin returned to Northumbria, but

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[1] Ibid., pp. 212-214; Eginhardt, *Life of Charles the Great*, c. iv. § 25. The King delighted in the works of Augustine, especially his *City of God*. For want of early practice, he himself could never succeed in learning to write; although he kept his tablets and writing-book under the pillows of his couch, it was all to no purpose, those rigid fingers so long accustomed to grasp the sword could not bend themselves to the pen. —Ibid. D. Ceillier, however, thinks that Eginhardt in this passage meant only that Charles tried in vain to imitate the beautiful characters of the manuscripts in his library.—*Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1815.

[2] *Dict. Christ. Biog., loc. cit.; Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, 1855.

after two years we find him again on the Continent, where in the disputations which arose with certain heretics, he appeared on the orthodox side. The abbacy of St. Martin at Tours becoming vacant in 796, Charles sent him thither to restore its decayed discipline, and to institute a school. He died there A.D. 804, and was buried within the church of St. Martin.[1] A.D. 782–804.

Alcuin was deeply convinced of the great importance of the preaching of the Gospel and of Bible-study; and was accustomed to press upon the bishops the necessity for the latter as a preparation for the former. "Without the holy Scriptures," he wrote to the clergy of Canterbury, "it is impossible to come to the right knowledge of God; and if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch." But he was far from restricting the study of the Word to ecclesiastics, and desired that the Emperor should have diligent searchers of Scripture among his ministers of state. He was opposed to the taking of human life even by the authority of the magistrate.[2]

Alcuin's name is associated with the stand made

[1] *Dict. Christ. Biog., loc. cit.;* Neander, v. pp. 214, 215. He composed his own epitaph, which was engraved on copper and placed over his tomb. The following are two of the lines:—

Quod nunc es, fueram famosus in orbe, viator;
Et quod nunc ego sum, tuque futurus eris.

If traveller thou art famous in the earth, I once was the same;
And what I now am, that shalt thou also be.

—*Penny Cyclopædia*, art. Alcuin.

[2] Neander, v. pp. 142, 170, 171.

Per. III. Chap. 7.

by the Gallic clergy in this age against image-worship. After the Iconoclastic strife in the East had raged for three-quarters of a century, the Second Council of Nicæa, A.D. 787, by its ninth canon, solemnly established the worship of images. But in 794 a great number of bishops[1] from all parts of Charles's dominions, who were met in council at Frankfort, rejected this canon by a large majority.[2] This bold step is thought to have been due in no little degree to the influence of Alcuin, supported by his Imperial master. To the English scholar some writers attribute also the famous edict issued by authority of the Emperor, and known as the *Caroline Books*, in which, although images and pictures in churches are retained as ornaments, and to keep alive the memory of pious men and pious deeds, all kinds of adoration, even reverence for them, is condemned.[3]

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[1] Said to have numbered about 300.

[2] Robertson, ii. p. 164.

[3] Milman, ii. pp. 302, 303. The opposition of the Gallic clergy to image-worship dates from an earlier period than that of Charles the Great.. In the seventh century Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, observing that the worship of images was spreading amongst the rude Franks of his diocese, caused the statues and pictures of the saints to be cast out of the churches. Pope Gregory the Great, whilst professing to commend his motives, censured the rashness with which he had acted, advancing the very unsafe plea that images are especially useful for newly-converted people. Nothing can be weaker than the language of the pope's rebuke. "Where," he asks, "is the bishop who ever did the like? If nothing else could hinder thee, ought thou not to have refrained from the very singularity of the act? Ought thou not to have been afraid of making people believe that thou thought thyself the only wise person in the world?" When the

A.D. 787–822.

Section II. Claude of Turin.—But the most strenuous of the Frankish opponents of image-worship flourished under Charles's successor. This was Claude bishop of Turin, who may justly be styled the Protestant of his age. He forms a connecting link between Jovinian and Vigilantius in the fourth and fifth centuries and those evangelical Churches which sprang up in France and Italy in the eleventh and twelfth.

Claude was a native of Spain, and like Alcuin joined that band of learned men from various countries which adorned the court of Charlemagne. He was appointed by the Emperor's son Louis, surnamed the Pious, then keeping his court in Auvergne, to be his domestic chaplain. Claude was a diligent student of the New Testament, and like Leo the Isaurian was probably anxious to vindicate Christianity from the reproach of idolatry cast on it by the Mohammedans.[1] Louis himself despised image-worship, and when he came to the throne he sent Claude to fill the episcopal chair of Turin (circa 822) for the express purpose of giving a check to the idolism to which the Italians had abandoned themselves.[2]

Iconoclastic Emperor Leo the Isaurian was endeavouring by main force to purge the Eastern churches of their pictures, Pope Gregory II. wrote to him: "Only try thy experiment here. Go into the schools where the children are learning to read and write, and tell them thou art the opponent of images; they would instantly throw their tablets at thy head, and thus the ignorant will teach thee perforce what thou wilt not learn from the wise."—Neander, v. pp. 275, 276, 290, 291; Du Pin, v. pp. 87, 88.

[1] See *ante*, pp. 244, 255. [2] Neander, vi. pp. 118–123.

Per. III. Chap. 7.

With too eager haste Claude began to declaim against the prevailing superstition, and to order all the statues and pictures of the saints, the crosses and votive offerings, to be flung out of the churches. The prejudices of the people were violently shocked, and their discontent manifested itself in popular tumults. "I found," he writes, "the churches full of the lumber of consecrated gifts, and because I alone began pulling down what all adored, I was calumniated by all. Unless the Lord had helped me I had been swallowed up alive." He owed his safety to the fear of the Frankish arms; which fear also seems to have restrained the pope, Paschal I., from taking overt action against him. Of this pope he said: "He only is apostolic who is the keeper of the Apostle's doctrine, not he who boasts of being seated in the Apostle's chair and yet does not keep the Apostle's charge; for the Lord says: 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.'"[1]

Claude had a friend, Theodemir, an abbot, who used to ply him with theological questions, and was thus the occasion of his writing several of his treatises. All the while, however, Theodemir seems to have been playing a double part, his real object being to convict Claude of heresy. On the publication of the bishop's commentary on the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, he brought charges

[1] Ibid., pp. 123, 124; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 251.

of unsound doctrine against him, before an assemblage of bishops and nobles. Hearing of this ungenerous proceeding Claude wrote to him: "May the Lord who is the witness of my life, and who gave me this work to do, forgive thee." Theodemir was unable to substantiate the charges, and changing his mode of attack assailed the bishop with his pen. In his reply, Claude declared that he held firmly to the unity of the Church, but that he would always with God's help fight against superstition and error. "If those who say they have cast off idolatry, worship the images of the saints, then they have not forsaken their idols but only changed their names. If men are to be worshipped, it would be much better to worship the living than the dead. If the works of God's hands, the stars of heaven for example, ought not to be worshipped, much less ought the works of men's hands. Whoever seeks from any creature in heaven or on earth the salvation which he should seek from God alone, is an idolator. . . . When God sware, 'If Daniel and Job were in it, they should deliver neither son nor daughter,' it was that none might put their confidence either in the merits or the intercession of saints."[1] He sternly rebuked the adoration of the Cross. "What these men do is quite a different thing from what God has commanded. God has commanded us to

A.D. circ. 822.

[1] Ibid.: Neander, vi. pp. 124–126.

Per. III. Chap. 7.

bear the Cross, not to *adore* it; they are for *adoring* it because they are unwilling to *bear* it."[1] With equal boldness he contended against pilgrimages: "Foolish men, undervaluing spiritual instruction, go to Rome to attain everlasting life. One gets no nearer to St. Peter by finding oneself on the spot where his body was buried, for the soul is the real man." Claude's free opinions gave great offence in high quarters, and the Emperor was persuaded to commission Jonas bishop of Orleans to write a refutation of his errors. But this was not published until after Claude's death.[2]

It is not only as a breaker of images and a caster-out of crosses that the name of Claude of Turin is inscribed upon the Church's record. He

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[1] He went further, declaring it unworthy in Christians even to adopt the Cross as an emblem of salvation.—Ibid. The adoration of the Cross, which began very early, had by this time reached a high pitch. See the description of the ceremonial from the Mozarabic liturgy in the *Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, i. p. 500, art. Cross, Adoration of. The *Pontifical*, or Bishop's Office-book, of Egbert archbishop of York A.D. 732, contains an office of dedication, in which the Cross is addressed in prayer, not only as the symbol of Christ's victory, but as though possessed of personality and actual power.—Ibid., art. Cross, p. 494, note.

[2] Neander, vi. pp. 127, 129, 132. The Gallic clergy of that day were equally in unison with Claude on the question of pilgrimages, as they were on that of images. The Second Council of Châlons, in 813, declared: A pilgrimage to Rome or to St. Martin of Tours is accounted a panacea. By it careless ecclesiastics imagine themselves cleansed from sin, and qualified to perform their office; laymen suppose they may sin with impunity; nobles, that they may practise extortion on their dependents; whilst beggars find in it a crutch for their mendicancy. Men are so foolish as to suppose that their sins are purged by the mere sight of a holy place, unmindful of the words of St. Jerome, that it is no merit to have seen Jerusalem, but to have lived a godly life there.—Id., v. p. 81; see *ante*, vol. i. p. 115, note.

had largely imbibed the spirit of Paul's Epistles, to the study of which he especially gave himself, as well as to the writings of Augustine; and in all his Scripture Commentaries, he makes practical Christianity his great aim. With him "heavenly grace is the source of true sanctification; the state of the heart, the test of moral worth; love to God apart from all reference to reward, the essence of the Christian temper; worship of God in the spirit, the characteristic of true piety." [1] A.D. circ. 822.

The truth which Claude preached, commended as it was by his exemplary life, attracted many followers, so that Theodemir complains of him as having founded a new sect which had spread from Italy through France even into Spain.[2] We do not, it is true, meet with any society which bore his name, nor even with the traces of any association for the purpose of maintaining his doctrines, but whenever in succeeding ages God's messengers declared the simple Gospel truth in the countries where Claude's influence had been exerted, there was a remarkable readiness to receive it; and it is well known that the Waldensian Church, which came into note in the twelfth century, claimed Claude of Turin for its spiritual ancestor.

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[1] Neander, vi. p. 121, 122. Claude's teaching reminds us of Vigilantius, and it is worthy of note that Jonas accuses Claude of maintaining the heresy of that early reformer, with whom also Dungalus, another of Claude's opponents, links his name.—*Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 205, and note.

[2] Jonas states that Germany was also infected.—Elliott, ii. p. 239; Neander, vi. p. 125.

Another enlightened *Witness*, contemporary with Claude, was AGOBARD, archbishop of Lyons from about 810 to 840 A.D. He wrote a tract against image-worship, in which he says: "If Hezekiah broke the brazen serpent, made by God's express command, because the mistaken multitude began to worship it (for which act his piety was highly commended), much more now ought the images of the saints, which were never set up by God's command but are absolutely human inventions, to be broken and ground to powder."[1] Many bishops of Aquitaine and Narbonne supported Agobard, but the light which thus shone over Southern France was only transient. Under Charles the Great's successors civil and religious order declined, and men's consciences were for a time held in fetters even stronger than before by an ignorant and worldly clergy.

SECTION III. ANSCHAR, styled the Apostle of the North, was born near Amiens in 801.[2] From the works of Christian love of this remarkable man, and the revelations with which he was favoured, we see how the Spirit of Christ condescends to dwell with power and unction in his

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[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 244–247. Strange to say, Agobard's name is to be found in the Romish Hagiography (lives of the saints), whilst his *Treatise on Pictures* is placed in the *Index Expurgatorius* (catalogue of writings prohibited by the Church)!

[2] The following memoir is abridged from Neander's *Church History*, v. pp. 375–395: and his *Memorials of Christian Life*, pp. 482–488.

children, even in the darkest days of the Church. Influenced by a pious mother, until his fifth year, Anschar seems to have received religious impressions in his opening mind when a very young child. During his school-days evil communications dimmed these early revelations. They were not effaced however, and he was recalled to thoughtfulness by a night vision. He imagined himself to be standing in a slippery place, thick with mire, from which he was unable to extricate himself. Not far off, on a safe and pleasant path, he beheld a graceful woman handsomely attired, accompanied by several others in white garments, one of whom was his own mother. He would gladly have gone over to them, but the slippery ground held his feet. As they drew nearer he heard the richly-adorned lady, who appeared to be the Virgin Mary, say to him, "My son, wilt thou come to thy mother?" And when he answered that he would fain do so if he could, she replied: "If thou wishest to join us, thou must eschew vanity and diligently pursue a serious life." From this time a change came over him, to the wonder of his school-fellows: instead of play he gave himself to reading and meditation.

A.D. 801–840.

In the convent of Corbie near Amiens, whither he was sent when still a youth, he had another vision in which the glory of Heaven was revealed to him. He was transported to the assembly of the blessed, and their united hymn of praise filled

Per. III. Chap. 7.

his soul with inexpressible delight. All had their faces turned towards the east, where was a splendour of surpassing brilliancy and giving forth the most beautiful colours. "The splendour was so illimitable," says Anschar, "that I could see neither beginning nor end; and although I looked round on all sides I could perceive only the superficial appearance, I could not see that which dwelt within the centre of this light. Yet I believe He was there whom the angels desire to look upon; for from thence proceeded a flood of glory which shed its effulgence over the whole assembly. He was in all, and all were in Him. He satisfied all their wants, and was their guiding soul; He hovered over them, and was their support from beneath." Peter and John, who appeared as Anschar's guides, led him right in face of this boundless light, whence a voice came forth full of unutterable sweetness: "Go hence, and return to Me with a crown of martyrdom." At these words the adoring host became silent, and with bowed and reverent faces worshipped. "When I heard the words," continues Anschar, "I was sad because I was obliged to go back to the world, but was comforted with the promise that I should return from it hereafter."

Two years afterwards he had a third vision. He had been engaged in prayer in a small chapel to which he was wont to retire, and when he rose, there entered at the door a person of noble counte-

nance clad in Jewish garb, whose eyes shone like the light. He perceived that it was the Lord Jesus Christ, and fell at his feet. As he lay prostrate he heard a voice bidding him stand up; and when in trembling awe he stood before the Lord, and was not able to look upon His countenance for the brightness of the light which beamed from His eyes, he heard the same voice, full of tenderness, saying to him: "Confess thy sins that thou mayest be justified." Anschar answered: "Lord, why need I tell them to Thee? Thou knowest all, nothing is hid from Thee." The Lord replied: "I indeed know all things, but yet it is my will that men should confess their sins to Me that they may receive forgiveness." Upon this he knelt and made confession, and the Lord said: "Fear not, I am He who blotteth out thy transgressions." With these words the Saviour vanished, and Anschar went his way full of joy and confidence. At another time, on receiving again the same assurance of forgiveness, he inquired, "Lord, what wouldst Thou have me to do?" The answer came: "Go preach the Word of God to the tribes of the heathen." A.D. circ. 820.

At the head of the seminary of Corbie was the learned Paschasius Radbert,[1] and Anschar, his

[1] This theologian enjoys the unenviable reputation of being the first to carry the doctrine of transubstantiation to its extreme point. He taught that after the priest had spoken the word of consecration, there remains no bread or wine, but only the appearance of them, and that the real flesh and blood of Christ are present instead, the identical body which was born

Per. III. Chap. 7.

most industrious pupil, was promoted to be his assistant. In 822 a colony of monks from this abbey settled on a fertile spot in the valley of the Weser, and gave the name of their parent cloister (in German) *Corvey* to the new house, which became one of the chief monasteries beyond the Rhine. Anschar was one of the colonists. The Jutland king Harald, who had just been baptized at Ingelheim, being about to return home, the Emperor Louis the Pious proposed he should be accompanied by a gospel preacher. Wala the abbot of Corvey recommended Anschar for this mission, and when the Emperor asked the young man if he was willing for God's glory to accompany King Harald, he replied that he was not only willing but eager to go. Many tried to dishearten him by representing the savage character of the Northmen and the evil nature of their idolatry, but he adhered steadfastly to his purpose, and retiring alone to a vineyard prepared himself by reading the Scriptures and prayer for the great undertaking.

For upwards of forty years Anschar laboured incessantly in Denmark, Sweden and the north of

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of the Virgin, suffered on the Cross, and rose from the tomb.—Mosheim, ii. p. 233. But it is to be observed that this is hardly more than was propounded by Cyril of Jerusalem five centuries before: "Be persuaded of it as a thing most certain that the bread which appears to our eyes is not bread, though our taste judge it to be so, but the body of Jesus Christ; and that the wine which appears to our eyes is not wine, though our sense of taste take it to be wine, but the blood of Jesus Christ."—See *Early Church History*, p. 448.

A.D. 822–865.

Germany, enduring disappointment, distress, hardship and persecution, through which nothing but an unshaken trust in God could have supported him. Once when an army of Northmen sacked and burned the town where he was, together with his church and monastery, leaving him barely time to save the church vessels, he exclaimed, as he surveyed the desolate scene: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord."[1] His love of meditation and prayer led him to construct a cell, which he called his "place of quiet and penitence," and to which, with a few companions who were like-minded, he from time to time withdrew. But he never suffered this to interfere with his apostolic duties, only resorting to his retreat to renew his spiritual life after long and arduous toil. He was in the habit of disciplining himself by severe mortifications, but conscious how easily self-exaltation is engendered by such outward austeries, he prayed to God for grace to save him from this danger. Too humble to aspire after miraculous gifts, he nevertheless could not prevent the coming of sick persons from distant parts, who hoped to be restored by his prayers. When however such a hope was expressed he would say: "Could I deem myself worthy to ask miracles of the Lord, I would beseech Him to grant me this one miracle, that He would make of me a holy man."

[1] Maclear, *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*, p. 160.

Per. III. Chap. 7.

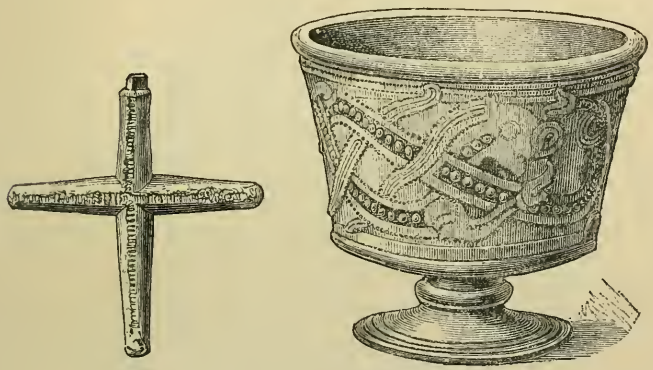
Being attacked with his mortal sickness Anschar's only regret was that the hope inspired by his early dream, that he should die a martyr's death, was not to be fulfilled. He often said his bodily pains were less than his sins deserved, repeating the words of Job, "Have we received good from the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?" Travail of spirit for the souls of those who were about him, and especially for the conversion of the Danes and Swedes, occupied him to the end. Having received the bread and wine, he prayed that God would forgive all who had done him wrong, frequently also repeating the words, "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy loving-kindness: be merciful to me, a sinner; into Thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so, with his eyes uplifted, he died, as he had wished, on the anniversary of the Purification of the Virgin, A.D. 865.

After Anschar's death it was still only by slow degrees and with frequent repulses that Christianity made its way in Denmark. Gorm the Old, who died about the year 935,[1] clung to his ancestral heathenism and persecuted the Christian missionaries, whilst his wife Thyra, a beautiful and virtuous lady, was a Christian, and with her husband's permission maintained her own chapel and priests. Their son, Harald II. surnamed

[1] Or 941.

Blaatand (Blue-tooth), professed the faith of his mother, and removed his court from Ledra, the ancient seat of the worship of Odin, to Roskilde in Zealand, where he erected a cathedral. He continued however to make the old palace at Jellinge, near Veile in Jutland, his usual place of residence.[1] A.D. 865–935.

Here he buried Gorm and Thyra, and piled over their tombs two huge circular barrows, which still



Thyra's Cross and Cup.

remain. Gorm's mound is about 40 ft. high and 670 ft. round at the base.[2] Thyra's is rather smaller, and covers a rude wooden chamber 22 ft. long, 8 ft. broad, and 5 ft. high. As there is no chamber under the larger barrow, it is probable that both bodies were buried beneath the smaller. Both mounds have been opened. Thyra's chamber

[1] Dunham's *History of Sweden, &c.*, i. pp. 104–111.

[2] It is not an exact circle, the two diameters being about 204 and 224 feet respectively.

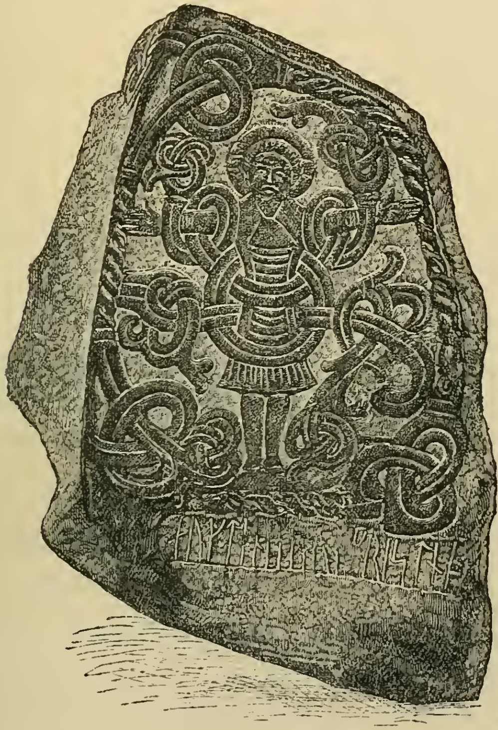
Per. III. Chap. 7.

contained, amongst other relics, a silver cup lined with gold, about 2 inches high; a small bronze cross thinly coated with gold; two figures of birds in copper; a small piece of fine red silk; and an end of wax candle. In the other mound very little was discovered.

Between the graves stands a church, not so old as the mounds, but yet very ancient; and near the church are two blocks of reddish granite.[1] The larger of these is three-sided, about 7 ft. 6 in. in height and 20 ft. round at the base. On one side is carved the dragon, the pagan emblem of Scandinavia; on another a figure of Christ, with

[1] Both the blocks have been removed from their original site.

his arms extended, as on the Cross; and on the third side, which is the largest, is an inscription in Runic characters, continued also in the lower part of the other two. A.D. circ. 935.



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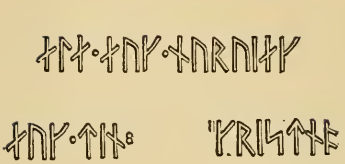

In Roman characters it reads thus :—

Haraltr kunukr bad gaurva
kubl dausi aft Gurm fadur sin
auk aft Thourvi mudur sina sa
Haraltr jas sor van Tanmaurk

ala auk Nurviak

auk T (. n . . . . . .) kristno.

King Harald had these memorials made of Gorm his father and Thyra his mother; the same Harald who won for himself all Denmark and Norway, and (made the Danish people ?) Christians.

The smaller stone is 6 ft. 3 in. in height; it bears a short but touching inscription.

Gurmur Kunugr gardi kubl dusi aft Thurvi kunu sina Tanmarkar but.

King Gorm made this memorial of Thyra his wife, Denmark's ornament.[1]

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[1] Or *Saviour*, or *trust;* the word is doubtful. Our woodcuts are taken from a model of the stone published in Copenhagen, with the help of the lithographs in Professor Kornerup's valuable and elaborate work, *Kongehøiene i Jellinge*, Copenhagen, 1875, for a copy of which we are indebted to the kindness of the author. The particulars in the text are also derived from his work. The similarity between the Irish school of ornament and the figures on the Runic monuments is very noticeable. Compare the above woodcuts with the fragment of sculpture from Monk-

The place of these monuments is now far from the highways of men, and full of repose. "From the blue fiord, on whose shore the little town of Veile spreads itself, we ascended," says a recent traveller, "some 200 or 300 ft. through picturesque woods to a table-land; passing broad fields of corn ready for the sickle, and quaint farm-houses and barns, the very image of the toys we played with in our childhood. There are few hedges, and between the corn patches are long ribands of grass, where the cattle feed tethered to stakes, and tended by a boy. On a ridge to the right, before entering the hamlet of Jellinge, were seen five large barrows. Here in this corner of the earth now so tranquil, in the rude palace long since decayed, the old sea-kings a thousand years ago hung up their weapons, glutted themselves with flesh and cups of mead, roared out their idol-songs to Odin, and recounted their deeds of plunder and merciless slaughter, with which, from century to century, they made the shores of England, Normandy, France and Sicily to groan and tremble."[1] A.D. circ. 935.

Section IV. Nilus.—We now turn again to the South of Europe. Nilus was a monk of Greek origin, and a native of Rossana in Calabria (South

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wearmouth Church and the square of lace-work ornament from the *Durham Book*, *ante*, p. 194.

[1] Private diary of a journey in Denmark, July, 1882.

Per. III. Chap. 7.

Italy), where he was born in 910.[1] He did not stand forth as a reformer; he did not see that the dense growth of superstition which encumbered the Church must be cut down and cleared away before the good seed could have room to take root and grow. Nevertheless his eye being single, his soul was full of light; and if those who saw his course of life and heard his words of evangelical wisdom had been willing to follow him, the light of gospel truth might have broken forth in Southern Italy even in that dark age.

Although the founder of several monasteries, he did not place his dependence on monastic austerities or spiritual marvels. In consonance with the wonder-waiting temper of the age, the thought would often occur to him, whilst engaged in prayer or in singing, "Look towards the altar; perhaps thou wilt see an angel, or a flame of fire, or the Holy One Himself, for such sights many others have seen." But being inwardly admonished that thoughts like these grow out of spiritual pride, he would resolutely shut his eyes and give himself up the more to penitential exercise, wrestling with his soul till the sweat trickled from his forehead. Once when he was occupied with writing, reading and singing in St. Peter's at Rome, he was beset with these temptations. Throwing himself before

[1] He is called Nilus *the Younger* to distinguish him from the venerable monk of the same name who resided on Mount Sinai in the fifth century. As in the case of Anschar, this account is taken from Neander's *Memorials of Christian Life*, pp. 492–503, and his *Church History*, vi. pp. 105–111.

the altar he prayed, "Lord, thou knowest that I am weak; have compassion on me and relieve me of this conflict." Thus lying he fell asleep, and saw a vision. He beheld Christ hanging on the cross, separated from him only by a thin white curtain. He cried out, "Lord have mercy upon me, and bless thy servant." The Saviour from the cross extended his right hand three times over him. He awoke, and the temptation was gone. The disciple who gives this account adds: "What much fasting and watching could not effect, was effected by thus humbling himself before the Lord, and by a knowledge of his own weakness." A.D. 910–996.

Like Anschar, he was clothed in the comely garment of humility. Being asked by a father to heal his son, a demoniac, he excused himself, saying he had never prayed for the gifts of healing the sick or casting out demons; what he had asked was that God would grant him the forgiveness of his sins and deliverance from wicked thoughts. He endeavoured however to comfort the father, by representing to him that the involuntary possession in the case of his son by one evil spirit, was a far lighter affliction than the readiness to serve them all which is manifested in a wicked life.

Some nobles and ecclesiastics came one day to prove Nilus with hard questions. When he saw them he said within himself: "They are come to entangle me in empty talk. Lord Jesus, free us from the devices of Satan, and grant that we may

Per. III. Chap. 7.

think and speak and do what is well pleasing to Thee." When he had so prayed he opened at hazard the book he had in his hand, a biography of a pious monk, and made a mark in the place; and as soon as his visitors had saluted him and sat down, he gave the book to one, who was a privy-councillor, to read where he had marked. The privy-councillor read: "Scarcely one in ten thousand attains to salvation." All exclaimed with one voice: "God forbid! whoever says that is a heretic. If it be so, we have all been baptized in vain; in vain we adore the Cross; in vain we partake of the Eucharist; in vain we call ourselves Christians."[1] Whereupon Nilus quietly remarked: "Suppose I should prove to you that Basil, Chrysostom, Theodore Studites, the Apostle Paul, and the Gospel, all declare the same thing, what would *you* say, you who by your own wicked lives gainsay the words of holy men? I tell you that by all these observances you gain nothing in the sight of

[1] The pious Eligius, goldsmith to the Frankish kings Clotaire II. and Dagobert I., and afterwards bishop of Noyon (A.D. 640–649), thus describes the disciple of Christ: "He is a good Christian, who comes often to church, and brings his offering to be laid on the altar; who does not taste of his produce until he has first offered some of it to God; who, as often as the holy solemnities return, keeps himself pure, some days before, that he may come to the altar with a safe conscience; and who, lastly, has committed to memory the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. Redeem your souls from punishment while ye have it in your power; present oblations and tithes to the churches; bring candles to the holy places according to your means; come often to the church and beg suppliantly for the intercession of the saints. If ye shall do these things ye may present yourselves with confidence before the tribunal of the eternal God on the day of judgment, and say: 'Give, Lord, for we have given.'" (!)—Mosheim, ii. p. 92, note.

A.D. 910–996.

God. Unless you become truly virtuous not one of you can be saved." At this all sighed and exclaimed, "Woe to us, miserable sinners!" Nicolas, an officer of the Imperial guard, who trusted in his almsgiving, now spoke: "Yet Christ said, 'He who gives to a poor man but a cup of cold water shall not lose his reward.'" To which Nilus replied: "That was spoken to the poor, that none might offer as an excuse his having no wood wherewith to prepare warm water. But what wilt *thou* do who robs the poor even of the cup of cold water?" Next a nobleman, a man of immoral life, referred to the example of Solomon, "a wonderful man and greatly commended in the Bible; was *he* not saved?" "What concern of ours is it," replied Nilus, "whether Solomon was saved or lost? Not to him but to us it is said 'every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.' But of Solomon we do not read as we do of Manasseh, that after having sinned he repented." Here one of the priests impertinently struck in with the question, "What was the forbidden fruit in Paradise?" "A crab apple," answered Nilus. And when all laughed, he added: "Such a question deserved such an answer."

The Imperial chamberlain, coming in state to a neighbouring castle, was offended that Nilus did not present himself before him with the other abbots. But when he heard of Nilus' independent

Per. III. Chap. 7.

character, he was still more desirous to see him. As soon as he entered the room the chamberlain was struck with awe at his presence, and sent for a copy of the Gospels, in order that if any matter of importance should pass between them, it might be ratified by oath. But Nilus reproved him, reminding him of what Christ said of swearing in His sermon on the mount. "Why," he asked, "dost thou furnish an occasion to mistrust thy words; and why dost thou begin our conference by transgressing the word of the Lord? He who is ready on slight occasions to take an oath, will also be ready to utter a falsehood."

Nilus' countryman John, archbishop of Placenza, a man of a restless worldly spirit, became entangled in an alliance with the Roman usurper Crescentius, who after expelling Gregory V. set up John as pope in his place.[1] Nilus wrote to him, prophetically warning him of the consequences of his ambition, and calling upon him to renounce the honours he had so unworthily gained, and to retire from the world. His words found no hearing; but within a year the doom which Nilus had foreseen fell upon the unhappy man. Gregory was restored to his chair by the arms of the German Emperor Otho III., and a cruel revenge, by order, it is said, of the pope and the Emperor, was wreaked on the archbishop. His eyes were

[1] His name is commonly omitted in the tables of the popes; when introduced he is called John XVI.

put out, and his tongue and his nose cut off, and in this deplorable condition he was thrown into a dungeon. Nilus was in his monastery at Gaeta when he received the tidings of his friend's fall and the barbarity practised upon him. Although now upwards of eighty years of age, sick and infirm (it being too Lent, when he gave himself to penitential devotions), he forgot all in his sympathy with the sufferer, and quitting his cell travelled immediately to Rome. Presenting himself before the Emperor, he asked to be put into the same dungeon with the archbishop, that they might do penance together for their sins. The Emperor promised to comply; but presently, instead of this, the archbishop was exposed to new and more public ignominy. Upon this Nilus boldly told both pope and Emperor that their offence was not so much against the wretched man as against God; and that as they had broken their word and shown no mercy, so they themselves could expect no mercy from God. The youthful Emperor was touched, and invited Nilus to ask any favour he pleased. "I have nothing to ask of thee," was the Christian reply, "but that thou wilt not trifle with the salvation of thy own soul. Emperor though thou art, thou must die like other men, and appear before the judgment-seat of God, to render an account of all thy deeds, good and bad." The Emperor burst into tears, and taking the crown from his

A.D. 996.

head, begged the man of God to give him his blessing.

In order to do Nilus honour, the monks of the venerable abbey of Monte Casino, the mother of all the Benedictine houses,[1] invited him to celebrate mass in their church in the Greek tongue. At first he refused, saying: "How shall we (Greeks), who are everywhere humbled on account of our sins, sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" Afterwards however he consented, and sang a hymn composed by himself in praise of St. Benedict. When the hymn was ended, the conversation turned on the diversity between the Greek and Latin Churches as to fasting on the Jewish Sabbath.[2] Nilus gave his opinion in the words of Paul: "'Let not him that eateth, set at nought him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God hath received him.' Whether *we eat*, or *ye fast*, let all be done to the glory of God." He then adduced the older Church teachers, who favoured the Greek custom; but added: "We will not however contend about this; if the Jews did but honour Christ crucified as their Lord, I should take no offence, even though they fasted on Sunday. . . . Everything depends on the state of mind in which a thing is done. *We* do right not to fast on the Sabbath, in opposition to the Manichæans, who

[1] See *ante*, p. 97.

[2] See *Early Church History*, p. 169.

reject the Old Testament; and *ye*, from your point of view, are bound to fast on that day, in order to purify your souls for the celebration of the day following, consecrated to our Lord's resurrection." A.D. 996-1005.

Nilus being near his end, the governor of Gaeta proposed that when he died, his body should be brought into the city for burial, so that his sacred bones might serve as a protection to the town. His humility was shocked at the prospect of receiving such veneration; and he determined that the people of Gaeta should not know where he was buried. Accordingly he mounted his horse and took his way towards Rome, saying to his monks as he bade them farewell: "Sorrow not: I go to prepare a place and a monastery, where all my brethren and scattered children will meet me again." On arriving at Tusculum,[1] he rode into the small convent of St. Agatha, saying: "Here is my final resting-place." His friends in Rome invited him to continue his journey to the city, that he might perform his devotions at the tombs of Peter and Paul; but he answered: "He who has faith as a grain of mustard-seed may even in this spot honour the memory of the Apostles." He begged the monks that when he died they would not delay his burial, and that they would not lay his body in a church nor erect any monument over him; but if they wished to distinguish his grave,

[1] Near the modern Frascati, ten miles S.E. of Rome.

Per. III. Chap. 7.

they should raise over it a seat for wayfaring men, such as he had always been, to rest themselves upon. For two days before he died he lay with no other sign of life than a murmur of his lips, and a slight motion of his hands making the sign of the cross. One of the monks putting his ear to his mouth, heard the words: "Then shall I not be ashamed when I have respect to all thy commandments." He fell asleep, without a struggle, A.D. 1005, his peaceful end fitly crowning the whole course of his life.

PERIOD IV.

FROM THE
TENTH CENTURY TO THE TERMINATION OF
THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES, A.D. 1229.

CHAPTER I.

MONASTIC LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.—ST. GALL.

SECTION I. In a former chapter we related the origin of the famous monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland.[1] It grew and prospered by the usual orthodox means—the fame of the saint's sanctity and of the miracles wrought at his shrine. The newly-converted Alemanni from far and near brought their gifts (especially wax for the church lights), and laid them on the altar. In 720 the brethren organized themselves into a regular monastery under the Benedictine rule, and elected Otmar as their first abbot. After passing through a sea of trouble, produced by the wars between the Franks and the Alemanni, and by the attempt of the bishop of Constance, successful for a time, to reduce the monastery to a dependency, it entered upon a brilliant course of ecclesiastical and literary activity.[2]

A.D. 720–883.

Under Gozbert, Grimold and Hartmut, 816–883, St. Gall rose to be one of the chief religious houses in the Frankish empire. The old buildings

[1] See *ante*, p. 215.

[2] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, herausgegeben vom Historischen Verein in St. Gallen, i. pp. 3-5; Migne, *Troisième Encyc. Théol.*, xvi.

were replaced by a new edifice on the most comprehensive plan. The monastery was ranged around three sides of a quadrangle, with a covered gallery or cloister, the church occupying the fourth side. The chronicler extols the splendour of the new church, the clear, glittering windows, the glass candelabra, the altars embossed with gold and silver and decked with costly altar-cloths, the crucifixes,[1] mass cups and vestments, and the reliquary chests of ivory, silver and gold, set with precious stones.[2]

Amongst the numerous apartments and offices, the library and *Scriptorium* held an important place.[3] The formation of a library at that day was a great undertaking. Books were few, for parchment was dear, and writing was a rare art, the more so as the language in which it was practised was almost exclusively Latin. There was but little trade in books, at least north of the Alps. They were to be purchased chiefly at certain Italian monasteries, in which manuscripts were multiplied for sale. It was usual for neighbouring convents

[1] Crucifixes appear not to have been used in churches much before this time; the earliest mention of such a use of them is in the eighth century. —*Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, i. p. 512.

[2] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, i. pp. 6–8.

[3] "A monastery," writes Geoffry, sub-prior of St. Barbara in Normandy, circa 1170, "without a library is like a castle without an armoury. Our library is our armoury, whence we bring forth the sentences of the divine law like sharp arrows to attack the enemy. See that in *your* armoury that which is the great defence of all is not wanting, the holy Bible, wherein is contained the right rule of life and manners."—Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 200.

to lend one another their manuscripts to be copied; sometimes these were sent long distances for this purpose.[1] In the time of abbot Hartmut, the good-natured but incapable Emperor Charles the Fat, who had a palace on the north-west arm of Lake Constance, showed great favour to the monastery of St. Gall, and occasionally visited it. He was also a borrower of its books, and in the ancient catalogue still extant, his own name, that of his wife Richarda, and of his all-powerful minister Liutward are entered amongst those to whom books were lent. When a book especially pleased the Emperor, he made known his desire to possess it: the wish of so august a patron was tantamount to a command, and the abbot had to supply its place as best he could. A.D. 816–883.

The Scriptorium, at first a small cell, gradually grew in the larger monasteries to be a spacious chamber, where many writers were employed who daily sat down to their work in a very business-like manner. The abbot of St. Martin's at Tournay used to exult in "the number of writers the

[1] Peter, abbot of Cluny, writing in the twelfth century to the prior of Chartreuse, tells him that he had sent him the lives of Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom, with Ambrose *Against Symmachus*. He had not sent Hilary *On the Psalms*, because in his copy there was the same defect as in the prior's. Prosper *Against Cassianus* he did not possess, but had sent into Aquitaine for it. He begs the prior to let him have the greater volume of Augustine containing his correspondence with Jerome, because a great part of his copy, whilst lying at one of the cells, had been eaten by a bear! Sometimes books were lent on condition that a copy should be returned with the volume.—Id., p. 441, note.

Per. IV. Chap. 1.

Lord had given him." In his *Scriptorium* (not one of the largest) "a dozen young monks were to be seen, seated in perfect silence,[1] at writing-tables furnished with every appliance. Here were transcribed all Jerome's commentaries on the prophets, all the works of Pope Gregory the Great, and whatever the abbot could lay his hands upon, of Augustine, Ambrose, Isidore, Bede and Anselm." Nor was the work of the transcriber always confined to men. Diemudis, a nun of Wessobrunn in Bavaria, was very skilful in the art. Besides office books for the Church service, she engrossed "in a most beautiful character" copies of the Gospels and Epistles, an entire Bible in two volumes, and another in three, with portions of the works of many of the Fathers.[2]

The work of the transcriber was laborious. Some have left furtive side-notes by which we may see what was passing in their minds. One prays his patron saint to deliver him from his toil; another longs to be off from his ink that he may console himself with a cup of wine; a third gives thanks that the day is drawing to a close. More devout is the prayer extant in a very early French

[1] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, i. pp. 7–10. The cloister rule of silence gave rise to a language of signs. In the library, the sign for a book was to move the hand as if turning over the leaves, to which was added a particular sign for the Missal, Gospels, Epistles, Psalter, the Rule, and so on. When the monk wanted a heathen author he was to scratch his ear like a dog.—Maitland, p. 403, note.

[2] Id., pp. 407, 413, 414, 419–421.

Visigothic manuscript (eighth century), "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to bless this *Scriptorium* of thy servants, and all who labour therein; that whatsoever sacred writings shall be here written or read, may be received with understanding, and bear good fruit." Very often we meet also with a solemn imprecation, sometimes in verse, on the head of any miscreant who should abstract the volume.[1] A.D. 816–883

Every great house had its peculiar style of writing, so that in many cases the parentage of a given manuscript is easy to be determined. The Irish monks brought with them to St. Gall the forms and flourishes peculiar to their school, and these being handed down caused the St. Gall style to be known on the continent as the Scottish school of writing.[2] St. Gall produced many noted copyists; one of the most famous was Sintram, who flourished at the end of the ninth century.[3]

Equally famous with the library and *Scriptorium* of St. Gall were its schools, an inner for the instruction of the monks and other inmates, and an outer where boys and youths of various ranks of

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[1] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, i. p. 11; Maitland, p. 407.

[2] For the use of the names, Scottish and Irish, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 346.

[3] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, i. pp. 10, 11. This work contains a fac-simile of a page in Sintram's copy of the Gospels, the finest of his numerous works. The great capital letter was designed by the abbot Salomon, and is superbly executed. The rest of the page is from Sintram's own hand; it gleams with gold, silver and vermilion, but the ordinary letters are much inferior in symmetry and uniformity to our Lindisfarne Gospels described above, pp. 185–191. These illuminated copies of the Scriptures were show-books to be brought out on high festival days.

life were taught. Perhaps no more celebrated centre of learning existed in Europe from the eighth to the tenth century.[1]

In the time of the abbot Hartmut there were in the cloister three monks, whose fame extended far beyond its walls—Notker the Stammerer, Ratpert and Tutilo. The historian has delineated their several characters with a minute and loving hand. "These three men," he says, "were united in a bond of close friendship. They had been instructed by the same master in sacred and secular learning, and the seven liberal arts,[2] especially music, an art more natural than the rest, and although more difficult in the learning, more pleasant in the use." But although the three friends were of one heart they were of very different characters.[3]

Notker's delicate and spare countenance, and eyes full of expression revealed the profound excitable character of the soul that dwelt within. He was timorous in any sudden alarm, "except of demons, whom he combated manfully." Gentle and patient, he was yet a severe disciplinarian: he knew well also how to rebuke impertinence. A youthful chaplain of the Emperor came one day with his Imperial master to St. Gall. Spying Notker in his usual attitude of poring over a book,

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[1] Ibid.; Murray, *Handbook for Switzerland.*

[2] As with literature and science, so the fine arts also took refuge and were fostered in the cloister during the Middle Ages.

[3] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, i. p. 12.

he said to his companions: "See that man; he is reputed to be the most learned man in the Emperor's dominions, but if you please we will have some merriment out of him." At his salutation Notker rose from his seat and meekly inquired what they wished. The chaplain replied: "We have heard, most learned Sir, that thou knowest everything; we would ask thee, if thou knowest, what God is doing now?" "I know it," he answered, "I know perfectly well. He is doing now what He is always doing, and what He will soon do to thee; He is exalting the humble and abasing the proud." The chronicler goes on to say that shortly afterwards, on the departure of the Emperor with his suite, the chaplain was thrown from his horse, and with disfigured face and broken leg was carried back to the cloister, where he was restored by Notker. Notker composed and set to music hymns which were sung throughout the Western Church.[1] A.D. 816–883.

Ratpert was a born teacher, and was never so happy as in the schoolroom, where he kept strict

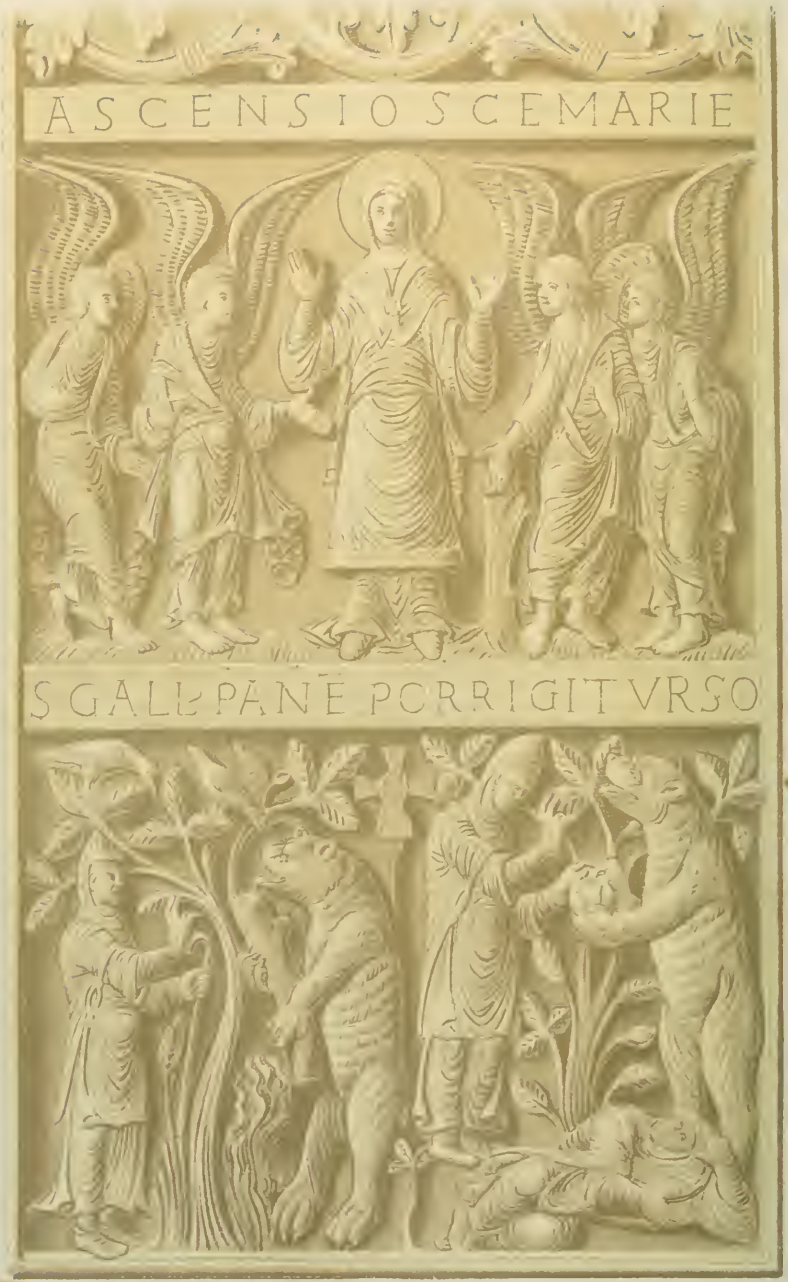
[1] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, i. pp. 12, 13; Maitland, pp. 408, 409. These hymns were styled *Sequences*, being composed to accompany the music used in prolonging the last syllable of the Alleluia.—*Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, ii. p. 1738, art. Prosa. One of the hymns, "In the midst of life we are in death," has found its way into the Burial Service of the Church of England. It was suggested to Notker by the sight of some men employed in building a bridge over a ravine, whose situation seemed to him very perilous. It became so popular as to be sung as an incantation by hostile armies on the eve of battle, and was in consequence, in 1316, forbidden to be used except with the consent of the bishop.—*Mores Catholici*, iii. p. 41.

rule with his stick. Every hour in which he was not teaching he counted as lost. He seldom set his foot out of the cloister; the thought of a journey was a terror to him, and he frequently admonished Tutilo, who was given to roaming. Like Notker, Ratpert composed sacred songs, one of which was a eulogium on Gallus in German, and was sung at the festival of that saint. It was Ratpert who commenced the valuable chronicle of the abbey in which a picture of cloister life in the Middle Ages has come down to us such as is perhaps nowhere else to be found.[1]

A very different man was Tutilo.[2] His frame was powerful and well proportioned; he was eloquent, and had a fine voice, and was skilful in carving and painting. Like his companions a musician, he had no equal on stringed instruments and the flute. He was inexhaustible in composing verses and melodies, fluent both in German and Latin, and so apt in speech, whether in jest or earnest, that the Emperor execrated those who had made such a man a monk. Yet with all this Tutilo was in secret given to tears. Travelling was his special delight; he loved to go abroad and observe the wide and pleasant world with open eye. Very welcome to the convents, whither his way led him, were his cheerful visits; and very willingly did he leave

[1] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, ibid.; Maitland, ibid.

[2] He is a saint in the Romish calendar.



Part of the Ivory Cover of a Book of the Gospels, the work of Tutilo, a monk of S. Gall, in the ninth century.

behind him, as a thank-offering for his entertainment, some work of art from his own hand. When in Metz he portrayed the Virgin in so masterly a style, that it was said she herself had guided his fingers. The annexed chromograph is copied from one of Tutilo's ivory carvings: it is a portion of the binding of Sintram's Gospels mentioned above, being two-thirds of one of the covers.[1] The upper panel represents the Assumption of the Virgin; the lower, an incident in the legendary history of Gallus, in two scenes divided by a cross. One day the saint and his deacon Hiltebold, weary with making their way through the dense forest, came to a place suitable for repose. The deacon lay down to rest, but the saint, according to his custom, first knelt in prayer before his case of relics. Whilst thus engaged a bear rushed down upon him from the mountain. Undismayed, he commanded the animal, in Christ's name, to bring him some fuel. The bear obeyed, and presently returned with a lusty log which he threw on the fire. As a reward the saint gave him a piece of bread, and bade him in future to keep to his haunts upon the mountain, and not to come down into the valley to molest man or beast.[2]

A.D. 816-883

There was in the outer school of the convent a handsome and intelligent youth of noble family

[1] The remaining third part is a scroll ornament. The other cover of the book represents Christ enthroned, surrounded by angels, the four evangelists and various symbolical figures, with scroll ornaments above and below.

[2] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, i. pp. 14-16.

named Salomon, who had been committed by his great uncle, the bishop of Constance, to the especial care of Notker. He was designed for a monk, but being of a restless disposition, and having already seen much of the world, he could not accommodate himself to the quiet religious life of the monastery. When the day of release from the cloister school came, he hastened at once to the court of the Emperor Charles the Fat, where family interest and his own abilities and accomplishments opened for him an honourable career, and he became the imperial notary. But although he could not stoop to be a *monk* of St. Gall, yet the dignity and power which belonged to the *abbot* of St. Gall appeared to him an object worthy of his ambition, and toward this he now shaped his course. He spent the Church festivals at the cloister, bringing with him many costly gifts; he built himself a house hard by, and claimed a place at the refectory table. The monks being offended because he came into their sanctuary in a white linen dress, he begged as a special favour that he might wear the cowl and be a monk when in the cloister, but live as a man of the world when at court. A chapter was held to consider this extraordinary request. The strict monks opposed it, one of them saying, "Our rules require real monks, not their phantoms;" but the majority were favourable, and his request was granted.[1]

[1] Id., ii. pp. 1, 2.

On the death of abbot Bernhard in 890, Salomon was chosen to succeed him, and soon afterwards was appointed by the Emperor to the bishopric of Constance. By this time the monasteries had wandered far from the sequestered path marked out for them by Benedict, and under Salomon, in the troubles which accompanied the decline of Charles the Great's empire, St. Gall became a political power of no mean account.[1] A.D. 890.

Salomon's election was unpalatable to many of the brethren, and especially to Notker, Ratpert and Tutilo. The steward of the refectory, Sindolf, was a flatterer of the new abbot, and took every opportunity of widening the breach which existed. By permission of the prior, the three friends were accustomed to meet nightly in the *Scriptorium* and discourse together on Bible subjects. Hoping to overhear something which he might report to the abbot to their disadvantage, Sindolf one night went out secretly into the court, and applied his ear to the glass window against which Tutilo was sitting. The monks inside became however aware of it, and seizing the eaves-dropper chastised him so severely that his roars brought a crowd of the brethren with lights to the spot. The incident illustrates the rude manners of the age, when learned and pious men thought it not unworthy of them thus to handle the whip and rod. The steward took a mean revenge for what he had

[1] Ibid., p. 3.

suffered. Notker had with great pains made a fair copy of the canonical epistles in Greek, having borrowed them for that purpose from the bishop of Vercelli. Sindolf happening upon the manuscript carried it off, cut and spoiled the leaves, and then returned it to its place.[1]

Section II. In the time of abbot Engelbert,[2] Southern Germany was filled with alarm by the invasion of the Hungarians.[3] In the spring of 926 the news reached St. Gall that a cloud of the "brown horsemen," armed with bows and scimitars, was approaching. Engelbert summoned his retainers from the fields, whilst his monks armed themselves as best they might. They made jerkins of thick linen cloth, shields of board and osier, prepared arrows and slings, and cut to a point stakes which they hardened in the fire. A retreat in the forest was hastily fortified, victuals stored up, and the church treasures deposited in an extempore chapel. The books for greater safety were conveyed to the abbey of Reichenau on the Unter-See, and the old men and scholars were

[1] Ibid., p. 4; Maitland, pp. 410–412.

[2] A.D. 924–933.

[3] The irruptions of this fierce people lasted from A.D. 889 to 934. They followed the line of the Danube into the heart of Germany, sent out ravaging detachments into Italy, North Germany, and the South of France, and were at last utterly defeated by Henry the Fowler and Otho I. They finally settled mainly in the ancient province of Pannonia, which has ever since borne from them the name of Hungary.—Elliott, *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, i. pp. 474, 475.

ferried over the lake to Wasserburg, a dependency of St. Gall. Scouts were sent out to discover the course of the dreaded foe; and on the 1st of May, the cry arose, "They come, they come!" All fled to the fastness in the wood, except a monk named Heribald, a simpleton, who would not stir because the chamberlain had not that year given him leather for his shoes. A solitary woman also, named Wiborad, who dwelt in a cell by the neighbouring church of St. Magnus, remained at her post.[1] A.D. 926.

Soon the Hungarian swarm, mounted upon their active little horses, burst upon the scene, and leaping from the saddle streamed through the courts of the cloister. They had brought with them as interpreter a German priest, one of their prisoners. Not a man could they see but the simple Heribald, who stared fearlessly at them. They gathered round him, but when they found from the interpreter what he was, they let him alone. He led them to the sacristy, and showed them the secret door. They broke it open, and finding nothing but a few golden candlesticks which had been left behind in the hasty flight, they vented their chagrin by cuffing Heribald's ears. Two of them who had mounted the church tower heedlessly fell over the battlement, and were killed. Their companions burnt their bodies at the church door, to the great danger of the

[1] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, ii. pp. 8, 9.

Per. IV. Chap. 1.

building. Seeing one of them aiming with his lance at two jugs of the convent wine, Heribald cried out: "Let them alone, my friend, else what shall we drink when you are gone?" With a burst of laughter the man bade his fellows not to touch "the fool's jugs." Coming to Wiborad's cell they made their way into it through the roof, but finding nothing to carry off, they cruelly put the poor creature to death.[1]

Their search ended, the Hungarians prepared themselves a plentiful meal and lay down on the grass to eat it, whilst Heribald fetched two chairs for himself and the interpreter. Without knives they tore the half-cooked meat with their teeth, and in sport threw the gnawed bones at one another. The wine which they had brought with them was set in the midst in great tubs, and when they had well drunk they began to call on their gods with a terrific cry, compelling Heribald and the priest to do the same. But presently the latter struck up a Church hymn in which Heribald joined as well as his harsh voice would permit. Instead of taking offence at this unwonted melody, the Hungarians were immoderately delighted; they danced before their leaders, and forming into circles, went through their martial exercises. The priest deemed the moment favourable to beg for his freedom. This however was contemptuously

[1] Ibid., pp. 9, 10. She was afterwards enrolled as a martyr.

refused, and the unhappy man might have fared badly, but for an opportune alarm. The Hungarian scouts had discovered the fastness in the wood, and now with trumpets and shouts gave notice that a fort was near at hand. The priest and Heribald were forgotten, and the Hungarians formed in order of battle. But when they heard that the fort was strongly situated, and had a numerous garrison,—the evening too being already far spent,—they set fire to a couple of houses to light them on their way, and silently took the road to Constance. The monks and retainers followed in pursuit, and coming up with the rear-guard, a skirmish took place in which several of the Hungarians were slain. The men of St. Gall however deemed it most prudent not to provoke them further. The Hungarians encamped for the night, and at early morn marched up the Rhine valley, plundering and burning according to their custom. It was long before Engelbert could persuade himself that the enemy was really gone, and the danger of fresh attacks was past. At length he and his monks returned to their profaned monastery, which was consecrated anew by the bishop of Constance.[1] A.D. 926.

Under the next abbot, Thieto, the convent was partially destroyed. A delinquent scholar, who was sent down to fetch the rods to be used on his own and others' backs, in a fit of rage and fear, as

[1] Ibid., pp. 10, 11.

he passed by the stove, snatched up a burning brand and set fire to the woodwork under the roof. He looked on quietly as the flames caught the rafters and shingles, and only when some one called to know why he tarried so long he answered that the house was on fire. The monks had time to save the bells, church treasures, books and relics; but the golden ornaments on the walls were melted, so that the gold had to be sifted in globules out of the ashes. The outward loss from this disaster was great, but the moral confusion which ensued was far greater: the schools and divine worship were interrupted, and the dwellings and stores of the monks being destroyed, they had to seek a lodging in the villages around. For a while all discipline was in abeyance.[1]

Abbot Craloch, who succeeded Thieto in 940, may be regarded as the founder of the town of St. Gall, now so active and populous; for it was he who first inclosed the convent buildings and the houses which had sprung up around them with a wall and towers.[2] It was in this way that many cities in the Middle Ages had their origin.

The next abbot was Burchard, elected 959. His birth was romantic. His father Count Ulrich had taken to wife Wendelgarde, a near kinswoman of the royal house of Saxony, and dwelt at Büchhorn, now Friedrichshaven, on the Lake of Constance. News was brought that the Hungarians had in-

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

vaded Upper Bavaria and laid waste his estates. A.D. 910–959.
Ulrich hastened thither and attacked the marauders, but was overcome and taken prisoner. Long did Wendelgarde with aching heart watch for her husband's return. At length she put on mourning for him as for one dead, and forsaking her castle retired as a widow to St. Gall, and shut herself up in a cell. Once a year only she returned to Büchhorn, to commemorate her husband's death with a solemn service and the distribution of alms. On the fourth anniversary a strange beggar presented himself and clamorously demanded a garment. The countess rebuked him for his impudence, but nevertheless gave him what he asked. On receiving it he seized her hand, drew her to him, and kissed her in spite of her resistance. Her attendants were about to lay rough hands on him when he pushed his long hair from his forehead and exclaimed, "Spare your blows, I have had enough of such; recognize in me your Ulrich." With astonished delight they saw before them their lost master. Not so Wendelgarde, who indignantly cried out, "Now I know certainly that Ulrich is dead, since I am made to suffer such treatment from a strange fellow." Not until Ulrich, like another Ulysses, displayed to her a well-known scar, could she satisfy herself that he was indeed her lost husband. The reunion of the noble pair was celebrated with high festival.[1]

[1] Ibid., p. 15.

Burchard was the offspring of this second nuptials: Wendelgarde died at his birth. His father dedicated him when a boy to St. Gallus, and brought him with rich presents to the convent to be educated by the monks. Small in stature, yet well proportioned, he was so delicate that even a gnat's sting drew blood, and the stick and the whip, which played so important a part in the cloister school, had to be dispensed with in his case. When he became a monk, the bishop of Augsburg gave him a dispensation to eat flesh. His amiable disposition corresponded to the tenderness of his frame and won him the love of all, especially in the cloister. On his election as abbot he went to court according to custom with a deputation of monks, to deliver up to the Emperor[1] the crozier of the deceased abbot, and request that it might be entrusted to himself. Otho took notice of the diminutive but handsome Burchard, and without suspecting that it was he who was to be the future abbot, called to him, "Come hither, my little cousin, and kiss me;" then, turning to the monks, "*What* you will I see, but *whom* you will I know not." "The same whom thou hast embraced," they replied, "our lord Burchard." Otho answered: "Your fathers loved above everything the strict discipline of the cloister; how will it fare if you choose this gentle little man to be your governor?"

[1] Otho I., A.D. 936–973.

But when they assured him that Burchard had always shown himself a strict disciplinarian, the Emperor took him by the chin and kindly saying, "Thou shalt be my little abbot; if it is God's will, then it is mine," delivered to him the crozier.[1] A.D. 959.

In Burchard's time a new calamity befell the cloister. An enemy almost as formidable as the Hungarians had been a generation before appeared at the gates. These were the Saracens, a band of whom had ventured to cross the Alps, and descending the Rhine valley had pillaged the lands of the bishop of Chur and other lords, and pushed on to St. Gall. The fortified abbey-town was too strong to be attacked; but they approached so near as to reach with their arrows a procession of the monks. For a long time the convent retainers could not come at close quarters with their agile foe: but one night the dean, having armed his men with lances, scythes and axes, fell unawares upon the troop, killed some, and took some prisoners. In the true Mohammedan spirit of religious hatred and defiance the captives refused to eat or drink, and so died. The Saracen band, unable to hold the country, were soon obliged to retreat, and becoming separated into small parties, were set upon by the mountaineers and cut to pieces.[2]

The prosperity of St. Gall excited the envy of

[1] *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, ii. pp. 15, 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

the abbot of Reichenau, who reported that the monks lived too well, and that the little abbot was unable to keep order. These whisperings reached the court, and the Emperor appointed a commission of eight bishops and abbots to investigate the matter. They were instructed to proceed gently and with circumspection, and as far as possible in unison with the monastery; but if any of the brethren should be found impracticable, they were to remove such and place them as teachers in schools, or distribute them in more orderly houses. The commissioners were agreeably surprised at the simplicity and economy which prevailed in the convent. When they had made a thorough examination, they assembled the monks, who with one exception showed them due reverence. The young bishop of Metz who not long before had been a scholar in the abbey, passing by his former teacher, with the open book of the Benedictine rules in his hand, the monk whispered, "Art thou bringing here against me that book which I know better shut than thou open? Shut it up!" The bishop blushed and closed the book. At the request of the archbishop of Trèves (the president of the commission) the dean rehearsed the daily life of the cloister. The visitors were satisfied that the rule of Benedict was faithfully observed, excepting in the article of diet. The monks, conscious of their delinquency in this respect, undertook for the future to give up their

private larders and the eating of flesh, and so the matter ended.[1] X.–XIX. Cent.

We have seen that the abbey had already become a political power. In fact, before the time we have now reached, the Emperor Henry I.[2] had erected it into a principality of the German Empire; and at one period the abbot could bring into the field an army of 10,000 men. Meanwhile the town also of St. Gall rapidly increased, and the citizens, who felt their own strength, made many attempts to shake off the ecclesiastical yoke, leading to frequent frays and civil strife. At the Reformation the abbot was deprived of his judicial and political power; and from that time this famous monastery, for many centuries the chief religious house in Switzerland, gradually declined in importance. It was not closed however until 1805. The vast buildings now standing (which are not of ancient date) serve as the residence of the Cantonal government. The greater part of the rich library is still preserved.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 19, 20. [2] A.D. 920–936.

[3] Migne, *Troisième Encyc. Théol.* xvi.; Murray, *Handbook for Switzerland.*

CHAPTER II.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages (*continued*). —Cluny.

"My rule
Is left a profitless stain upon the leaves;
The walls, for abbey reared, turned into dens;
The cowls, to sacks choked up with musty meal.
. . . . . Mortal flesh
Is grown so dainty, good beginnings last not
From the oak's birth unto the acorn's setting."
—Benedict, in Dante.[1]

Per. IV. Chap. 2.

In the story of St. Gall we cannot fail to have remarked how the lofty, though mistaken, object of Benedict was, as time went on, more and more lost sight of, and the state of separation from the world at which he aimed swallowed up in the vortex of civil and political life. In name and dress, in the unnatural and corrupting abnegation of marriage, and in the daily round of ceremonies often unprofitable, not to say idolatrous,[2] the monk lived apart; but in all beside, not only in the petty affairs of his own township, but also in the government, in

[1] *Paradise*, canto 22 (Cary).

[2] "For fifteen years," says Luther, "I was a friar, and blasphemed God with celebrating that abominable idol, the mass."—*Table Talk*.

diplomacy and even in the wars of principalities and empires, he was foremost both as adviser and actor. Instead of the cloister excluding the world, the world had taken possession of the cloister. X. Cent.

The new impulse which Columbanus had given to the monastic life in France was soon spent. After his death his iron rule again gave way to the more humane, but still rigorous discipline of Benedict. In course of time however this too, especially in the larger monasteries, became relaxed and almost forgotten. "Most monks," remarks Mosheim, "did not even know that the rule they had bound themselves to follow was called the rule of St. Benedict." [1]

Early in the tenth century a successful attempt to restore the monastic discipline was made at Cluny, in Burgundy. This monastery was founded in 908 by the abbot Berno, to whom William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine, gave the village of Cluny with the neighbouring lands. Upon Odo, the second abbot, the mantle of Benedict may be said to have fallen. He not only revived the strict rule of the latter, but added fresh observances and regulations,[2] and through his influence the old austerity of the monastic life reasserted its sway throughout Europe. Odo had been a schoolmaster and precentor of the cathedral at Tours,

[1] Vol. ii. p. 286.

[2] "These," observes Mosheim, "had an air of sanctity, but were in reality trivial, though onerous and inconvenient."—Ibid.

Per. IV. Chap. 2.

and came of a good stock. He says of his father: "He seemed to be a different sort of person from men of the present day; for he had by heart the histories of the ancients and the *Novellæ*[1] of Justinian. At his table there was always the reading of the Gospel." Odo himself, when he became a monk, possessed a library of a hundred volumes. He was succeeded in the abbacy by Aymard, and after him, A.D. 942, by Maiolus (Mayeul). It was this abbot's custom to read on horseback. Returning from a journey to Rome he and his companions were set upon by a party of Saracens in one of the passes of the Alps,[2] taken prisoners and plundered. The abbot lost all the books he had with him except one, a treatise on "The Assumption of the Virgin," which he carried in his bosom. His biographer does not say what the lost books were, with one exception; a Saracen who was smoothing a piece of wood, set his foot on a copy of the Bible which the abbot always carried with him, an act which sorely grieved the good man. In hope of ransom permission was given for the abbot to send a monk to Cluny with the following laconic epistle: "To the lords and brethren of Cluny, the wretched Maiolus, a captive and in chains. The floods of ungodly men have compassed me about; the snares of death prevented me. Send, if you please, the price of ransom for me and my fellow-prisoners."

[1] This was the title of the latest portion of the great body of law compiled in the reign of Justinian.

[2] See *ante*, p. 323.

The brethren hastened to collect the required sum, "an infinite amount of money," for which the monastery was almost stripped of its valuables. The captives were set at liberty, but the Saracens did not long enjoy their booty; a party of mountaineers set upon and slew them, recovered the spoil, and restored to the abbot his books.[1] A.D. 942–1049.

Maiolus was succeeded by Odilo, and he again by Hugh in 1049, who was so highly esteemed for his wisdom and piety, that our William the Conqueror invited him to take under his care the spiritual direction of England.[2] One of his monks was Ulric, a scion of a noble family at Ratisbon. Before he entered Cluny, Ulric gave proof of his charitable disposition by mortgaging his inheritance in a time of famine for the relief of the sufferers. He then made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, "during which," says his biographer, "he repeated a psalm every day before he mounted his horse." On his return, hearing of a convent of poor nuns near Ratisbon, who could only afford themselves half a pound of mixed rye and wheat bread daily, he endowed it with land sufficient to

[1] Maitland, *Dark Ages*, pp. 298–300, 307–309.

[2] When William de Warrenne and his wife Gundrada (daughter of the Conqueror) built Lewes priory, they peopled it with monks from Cluny. They had set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, but being stopped by the war then waging between the pope and the Emperor, had tarried at Cluny. Here the attention they received and the devotion, humility and charity of the monks, profoundly impressed them, and they begged the abbot Hugh to let them have some of the brethren.—Horsfield, *History of Sussex*, i. pp. 206, 207.

provide a pound of white bread, and to maintain besides seven poor persons. At Cluny he manifested a humble and gentle disposition, and was especially mindful of the novices, whom he diligently instructed. He used also to write letters of advice, "sweet and salubrious," and send them privately to abbots and monks, confirming the pious and recalling the wanderers.[1]

A rich lord and lady, without children, desiring to "devote their property to God," requested the abbot Hugh to send them some of the brethren from Cluny to found a new monastery. Ulric and another were chosen, and the site was fixed upon, but winter approaching, the building was deferred till the spring. The two monks, shunning the society of laymen, retired to a cave. Some strangers however coming to the cave from curiosity, Ulric preached to them, and soon he was surrounded by large numbers of the country people, Christians in name but ignorant of the Gospel. When the winter was over he and his companion set to work on the building, the people willingly assisting them, except two priests who feared that the erection of the monastery would deprive them of their fees. One of them told his congregation that an evil weed was springing up which, if it came to bear fruit, would fill the whole land with poison. The people were horrified, and inquired

[1] Maitland, pp. 323–325; Morison, *Life and Times of Saint Bernard* p. 119.

how they might distinguish and eradicate such a dangerous plant; the preacher explained that it was the monks from Cluny, whom he described as full of deceit, avarice and envy. Soon afterwards, journeying by night, the priest lost his way, and was forced to ask shelter of the monks. With a tremulous hand he knocked at the door. Ulric received him kindly, and following the monastic rule led him first to prayers, then gave him the kiss of peace, conversed with him in a friendly manner, and entertained him hospitably. The priest's conscience smote him, and the next Lord's day he confessed to the people that he had wronged the monks, and besought them that instead of praying against Ulric and his companion they would now pray to God to pardon his sin. The monastery thus founded was La Celle, over which Ulric presided till his death.[1] A.D. 1049-1109.

At the time that Hugh presided over Cluny, one William, an abbot of distinction, ruled the monastery of Hirschau in the Black Forest. He was credited with the power of working miracles, but his historian observes with singular judgment: "Of all his miracles this was the greatest, that in the midst of a perverse nation his excellence shone forth, and in an age of discord between the Church and the State he maintained an unblameable course." The Benedictine rule in

[1] Maitland, pp. 325–327.

Per. IV. Chap. 2.

Germany having again fallen into decay, the abbot Hugh sent Ulric, who had known William from a child, to Hirschau, to assist him in restoring it. William employed a large number of writers in transcribing the Holy Scriptures and the works of the Fathers, and whenever he sent forth his monks to found or to restore other houses, he sent his books with them.[1]

Hugh was succeeded in his abbacy by Pontius de Melgueil, A.D. 1109. For some time past successive popes had rivalled each other in showering privileges upon Cluny. Calixtus II.,[2] having nothing further to bestow, took his own ring from his finger and placed it on that of Pontius, declaring that for the future the abbot of Cluny should be *ex officio* a Roman cardinal,[3] and that the Cluniacs should have the privilege of continuing to celebrate mass, if ever the kingdom should be placed under an Interdict.

By this time the monastery had attained to a high secular position. It coined money like a sovereign State, and Louis VI. styled it "the noblest member of his kingdom."[4]

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[1] Id., pp. 327–330.

[2] A.D. 1119–1124.

[3] Cardinal at first merely signified *chief:* the "cardinal presbyters and deacons" of a church are spoken of frequently by Gregory the Great Later the cardinal presbyters and deacons of the (twenty-five or twenty-eight) parish churches in Rome came to have special honour, and in 1059 Pope Nicholas II. formed these with seven "cardinal bishops" into a college for electing all future popes.—*Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, i. p. 291.

[4] Morison, pp. 119, 120.

A.D. 1109-1122.

But Pontius was an unworthy successor of the good abbots who had preceded him. He was proud, rapacious and turbulent. He violated without scruple the rights of other churches and monasteries, and even claimed for himself the title of Abbot of Abbots. But as this title belonged of right to Benedict's successors, the abbots of Monte Casino, he was obliged to content himself with that of Arch-abbot. His waywardness and prodigality became such a scandal in the Church, that on going to Rome he found it expedient to resign his office and undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[1]

On the death of a second Hugh, who survived his election only a few months, a numerous assembly of bishops, abbots and monks chose in his room Peter of Montvoissier, of a noble family in Auvergne, who acquired the surname of the Venerable. This was in 1122. Pontius had left the affairs of the house in disorder. "When I was raised to the office," writes Peter, "I found a large monastery, religious and famous, but with a very insufficient revenue; 300 monks or more, and provision for only one hundred, crowds of guests, and always an infinite number of poor."[2] But just as matters, through Peter's wise administration, were set in train for amendment, Pontius returned from the Holy Land, his heart filled with purposes

[1] Id., pp. 120, 121.

[2] Seventeen thousand poor were annually relieved at the gates.

of revenge. Having collected some deserters from the monastery, and a rabble from the neighbourhood, he came in Peter's absence to Cluny. They forced the doors, put to flight the aged prior and the monks, laid violent hands on all who opposed them, and seized the golden vessels of the church. Even the reliquaries containing the bones of many saints and martyrs were not spared. These being melted down, Pontius sent the money to the robber knights of the surrounding country to buy their assistance, and they laid waste the towns and villages and the dependent cells and priories. In this manner was passed all one summer, from Lent to October. The pope Honorius II. hearing of these outrages excommunicated Pontius and his band, and cited both him and Peter to appear before him. When he had heard both sides, and had with the whole Roman court taken time to deliberate, he gave sentence: "The holy Roman and Apostolic Church deposes for ever from all ecclesiastical honour and function, Pontius the usurper, the sacrilegious person, the schismatic, the excommunicate, and restores to Peter, Cluny, its monks, and all things pertaining to it."[1]

On his return to the monastery, Peter applied himself vigorously to repair the mischief that Pontius had wrought. He was a man of a wise

[1] Id., pp. 121–123; Maitland, pp. 346–351.

and charitable spirit.[1] To a recluse he wrote : A.D. 1122-1157. "Thy outward separation from the world will avail thee nothing without the only firm bulwark against besetting sins within the soul—the Saviour. By union with Him and by following Him in his sufferings, thou wilt be safe against the attacks of all thy enemies." And to a prior : "Of what avail is all the fasting in the world to him who has no love? Abstain if thou wilt from flesh and from fish ; torture thy body, give no sleep to thy eyes ; spend the night in vigils and the day in toil ; still willing or unwilling thou must hear the Apostle : 'And if I give my body to be burned but have not charity it profiteth me nothing.'" Monk though he was, he had no sympathy with that immolation of the natural affections which was required by the rules of Basil and of Benedict. "The good man ought not to fly from his kinsmen and friends for fear of contamination ; he should seek to win them by wholesome admonitions. Instead of being afraid of their earthly affections, he should communicate to them his own heavenly love." "It is," he adds in the same letter to a monk, "in the recesses of the heart alone that the true despiser of the world finds the true solitude, where no stranger enters, where without audible utterance is heard the gentle voice of the Master

[1] Like Chrysostom and Augustine, and many other great men in the Church, he had enjoyed the inestimable blessing of a pious mother.—Neander, vii. pp. 345, 346.

Per. IV. Chap. 2.

discoursing with us." To one of a kindred mind with himself he says: "When I would search with thee into the mysteries of Scripture, thou wast always ready to join me with the greatest delight. When I would converse with thee on worldly science (always under the guidance of divine grace), I found in thee a ready mind and an acute discernment. O, how often, with the doors shut, and Him alone for our witness who is never absent when discourse turns upon Himself, have we held solemn converse, on the hardness of man's heart, the entanglements of sin, the manifold snares of wicked spirits, the economy of salvation by the incarnation and sufferings of the Son of God, the dreadful day of the last judgment." His charity became almost proverbial. He declined to express an opinion regarding a deceased heretic, lest he should bring a false accusation against a dead man.[1]

Hence it is not to be wondered at that Peter, whilst he laboured for the restoration of good manners and a holy life, made no effort to restore the severe rule of Benedict. This was reserved for the founders of two new religious houses which were just then coming into note, and the history of which will be presently related, Citeaux and Clairvaux.

Between the great Bernard, who rendered both these monasteries illustrious, and Peter, there existed indeed a close and life-long friendship;

[1] Neander, vii. pp. 336, 346-348: viii. p. 338.

but it was scarcely possible that the indulgence of relaxed discipline on the one side, and the determination to return to primitive austerity on the other, should not sooner or later bring them into collision.[1] A.D. 1122-1157.

An occasion of difference between the convents of Cluny and Clairvaux had arisen during the rule of Pontius. Bernard, who quitted Cîteaux for Clairvaux in 1115, took with him a young kinsman, noble and wealthy, named Robert, for whom he had a paternal affection. The young man however soon grew restless under the severe and unrelenting discipline to which he was subjected, and availed himself of the first opportunity to leave. His parents in his childhood had promised him to Cluny, and the abbot Pontius was unwilling to lose so valuable a possession. Hearing probably that Robert sighed for deliverance, he sent his prior to bring him away. In spite of his vow and of Bernard's remonstrances the youth left Clairvaux, and accompanied the prior to Cluny. The matter was considered so important as to be referred to the pope, who affirmed the claim of the elder monastery. In the hope of moving him to a voluntary return, Bernard wrote Robert a letter of four folio pages, full of alternate wrath and tenderness. He now reproves the youth as a prodigal, gone away to indulge in

[1] Ibid.

riotous living, and now chides himself for the harsh enforcement of austerities, too severe for a lad brought up in the softness of secular life. The prior who had enticed Robert away comes in for a large share of Bernard's wrath. Bernard's entreaties were in vain so long as Pontius ruled; but when Peter succeeded to the abbacy he gratified his friend by sending back the young kinsman, who expiated his six years of truant indulgence by more than sixty of submission to the Cistercian rule.[1]

At length the dissension between the two abbeys, which for some years had been smouldering, burst forth into a flame. The Cluniacs spoke of the Cistercians as upstart Pharisees, whilst these denounced the former as apostates. In 1125 Bernard, urged by the abbot of St. Thierry, seized the pen, and in a long and eloquent letter which he called his *Apology*, enumerated the abuses which had crept into the monastic life.[2] They dispense (he says) with the year's novitiate, and receive back renegades as often as they choose to come. They have discontinued the regular fasts, retaining only a shadow of them, and this more from shame towards man than from the fear of God. They have come to despise manual labour; neither the authority of Scripture nor their vow being able to withdraw from their bosom the hands

[1] Morison, pp. 42–46; Maitland, pp. 360, 361.

[2] He does not confine his censure to Cluny, but extends it to the rich and luxurious monasteries in general.

become delicate through idleness. The pious practices of pouring water on the hands of the guests, washing their feet and the like, have disappeared. They possess parish churches, receive first-fruits and tithes, and claim for their own, towns, villages, peasants, tolls and taxes. And when such unlawful revenues are challenged they defend them at law, so that monks are seen conducting causes, and thus in heart turning back to Egypt and Sodom.[1] A.D. 1125.

Bernard then proceeds to the personal life of the brethren, upon which theme his words are vehement. "I am astonished to see among monks such intemperance in eating, in drinking, in clothes, in bed-covering, in horse-trappings, in buildings. . . . At meals no man asks his neighbour for the heavenly bread; there is no conversation concerning the Scriptures, none concerning the salvation of souls; but small talk, laughter, and idle words fill the air. And while the ear is tickled with gossip and news, the palate is stimulated by dainties; dish after dish is set on table, and to make up for the small privation of meat a double supply of fish is provided. Who can say, to speak of nothing else, in how many forms eggs are cooked? The dishes are even made to charm the eye as well as the taste; and although the stomach complains that it is full, curiosity is still excited. As

[1] Morison, pp. 123, 124; Maitland, pp. 373–378.

Per. IV. Chap. 2.

for wine, directly we become monks we seem to be afflicted with weak stomachs, and set ourselves in a praiseworthy manner to follow the weighty advice of the apostle and take a little wine; but for some unexplained reason the qualification of *a little* is disregarded. You may see a cup half full carried three or four times backwards and forwards, in order that out of several wines smelled and sipped the most potent may be selected. Have we not heard that in some monasteries on great festivals the wines are mixed with honey and powdered with spices? Is this too for our stomach's sake and our often infirmities? . . . I have heard that strong hearty young men are accustomed to place themselves in the Infirmary for the purpose of regaling on those viands which the rule allows only to the utterly debilitated. In order to distinguish these invalid monks they carry a stick in their hands, a most necessary token!" [1]

Next as to clothing and style of living. "This habit of ours, formerly a sign of humility, is by the monks of our day turned into an occasion of pride. The knight's cloak and the monk's cowl are cut from the same piece of cloth. When you want to buy a cowl, you rush through the towns, visit the markets and fairs, dive into the merchants' houses, turn over their goods, undo their bundles, feel the cloth with your fingers, hold it to your eyes or to

[1] Morison, pp. 126–128.

the sun, and if anything coarse or faded appears you reject it. . . . What kind of humility is it in an abbot to take his progress with a retinue of hairy men? I have seen one with sixty horses in his train. You would think them to be not fathers of monasteries but lords of castles, not shepherds of souls but princes of provinces. Then there is the baggage, table-cloths, cups and basins, candlesticks, ornaments of the beds. My lord abbot cannot go more than four leagues from home without taking all his furniture with him, as if he were bound for the wars or had to traverse a desert. Is it quite impossible to wash one's hands in and drink from the same vessel? Will your candle burn nowhere but in that golden or silver candlestick of yours? Is sleep impossible except upon a variegated mattress or under a foreign coverlet? Could not the same servant harness the mule, wait at dinner, and make the bed? If such a multitude of men and horses is necessary, why not carry with us our provisions, and thus relieve from an intolerable imposition those who entertain us?"[1] A.D. 1125.

Bernard has something to say of the grand and decorated churches of which that of Cluny was one of the most magnificent.[2] On this subject he

[1] Id., pp. 129, 130.

[2] This church, which at the time of Bernard's *Apology* had been thirty-five years in building, was finished in 1130. It was the wonder of Christendom. It was 580 feet long and 120 wide, was supported by sixty-eight massive columns, and lighted by 300 windows.—Id., p. 151, and note.

Per. IV. Chap. 2.

manifests a degree of enlightenment beyond his age, regarding art much in the same aspect as that presented in our chapter on Ravenna, namely, as a hindrance to true worship. He censures the vast height of the roof, the inordinate length and superfluous width of the building, costly polishing and strange designs which, by attracting the eyes of the worshipper, hinder the soul's devotion; these things, he says, remind him of the old Jewish ritual. "By the sight of such costly vanities men are prompted to make gifts to the church rather than to pray there. The beautiful picture of some saint is exhibited—the brighter the colours, the greater the sanctity—and men run to kiss it. The chandeliers hanging from the roof, and the tall trees of brass in the place of candlesticks, fashioned with wonderful skill, are all studded with precious stones, glittering almost as bright as the lights themselves. What do you suppose is the object of all this? The repentance of the contrite, or the admiration of the beholders? O vanity of vanities! The church's walls are resplendent, but the poor are not there. The curious find wherewith to amuse themselves, but the wretched find no consolation in their misery. . . . Again, in the cloisters, what is the meaning of those ridiculous monsters, of that deformed beauty, that beautiful deformity, before the very eyes of the brethren as they read? What are unclean monkeys there for, or ferocious lions, or monstrous centaurs, or soldiers or hunts-

men? Such an endless variety of forms appears everywhere, that it is more pleasant to read in the stone-work than in books, to spend the day in admiring these oddities than in meditating on the Divine law. For God's sake, if we are not ashamed of these absurdities, why at least do we not grieve at the cost of them?" [1] A.D. 1125.

To all these charges Peter makes but a feeble defence. His case is perhaps strongest on the possession of the lands and villages which had been lavishly conferred by former lords upon the abbey. Land in the hands of the monks was generally better administered than by lay owners. Secular masters too often imposed hard service upon their serfs and treated them as mere chattels, whilst the rule of the monks was light and considerate; they regarded the peasants, not as slaves, but as brothers and sisters, and maintained them when they fell into sickness and indigence. On the question of labour Peter makes a very lame defence. "How," he piteously asks, "are a languid set of men, barely kept alive on their vegetable diet, to bear labour in the field, exposed to heat, rain and cold, which peasants and ploughmen find it hard to endure? This is not only impossible, but it would be indecent. Does it not appear most indecent that monks, who are to abide in the cloister and devote themselves intensely to silence, prayer, reading

[1] Id., pp. 130–132; Bernard, *Apology*.

and meditation, should put aside these things for vulgar rustic labour."[1]

But Peter and Bernard knew one another's worth; their souls were made for mutual sympathy, and after this temporary ruffle their correspondence was continued in the most brotherly spirit. Their epistles abound in playful and affectionate sallies, and are a fine specimen of mediæval letter-writing. We must find space for a few sentences. Peter writes to Bernard:—"I am thankful to be so excellently well placed, being as thou art pleased to write, an actual inmate of thyself, so that if I should become cold I shall undoubtedly soon grow warm again, thus cherished by thy heart of charity. . . . The messenger coming to Cluny, and not finding me, neither brought on nor forwarded thy letter, but left it there. At length I got it from the sub-prior, to whom it had been entrusted. Immediately my soul was drawn out, so drawn out that I did what I never remember to have done, except in reverence to the Holy Scriptures; as soon as I had read thy letter, I kissed it. And that I might excite a greater love for thee, I read it over again to those around me."[2]

Bernard to Peter:—"I wish I could send thee my mind just as I send thee this letter. Thou wouldst, I am sure, read most clearly what the

[1] Maitland, pp. 389, 390.

[2] Id., pp. 424–426.

finger of God has written on my heart, has impressed on my marrow, of love to thee. . . . I say this because my Nicholas[1] (aye, and thine too), being vastly moved in spirit himself, has moved me, affirming that he saw a letter from me addressed to thee, which contained some unkind expressions. Believe one who loves thee, that there neither rose in my heart nor issued from my lips anything which could offend the ears of thy blessedness. The fault is owing to the multitude of business; so that my scribes do not well remember what I tell them. They sharpen their style too much, and it is out of my power to look over what I have ordered to be written." Again: "I saw thy letter, and flew to shut myself up with that Nicholas whom thy soul loveth. I read over and over again the sweetness that flowed from it. I grieved that I was not able to answer according to my feelings, because the evil of the day called me away. For a vast multitude, out of almost every nation under heaven, had assembled. It was my place to answer every one; because for my sins I was born into the world that I might be confounded with many and multifarious anxieties."[2] A.D. 1125-1157.

Both Bernard and Peter reposed confidence in this secretary, Nicholas, who was a very active servant, wrote pious letters, and was "brimful of sacred and philosophical learning." He belonged

[1] His secretary.

[2] Id., pp. 428–434.

Per. IV. Chap. 2.

originally to Cluny and it was Peter's desire to have him again. "When thy holiness was at Cluny," so writes Peter, "thou asked, 'What dost thou want with Nicholas?' I answered, 'It is no great matter.' But I confess to thee, dearest friend, they were the words of wounded feeling rather than of truth. I had one thing in my heart and another on my tongue. What my mind tacitly suggested was, 'Why repeat thy wishes so often; as thou hast been denied thy request twice before, thou mayest perhaps now be denied a third time.' Let my confession avail me—for what? That thou shouldst send Nicholas, and not only now, but whenever I shall ask for him."[1]

The truth is, that Nicholas was unworthy of the confidence of either. Writing some time afterwards to pope Eugenius III., Bernard says: "We have been in peril from false brethren, and many forged letters under counterfeits of our seals have gone forth. Thus compelled, I have laid aside that seal, and use the new one which thou seest, containing both a figure of me and my name." And later: "That Nicholas has gone forth from us, because he was not of us; and he has gone out, too, leaving very dirty footmarks behind. I had seen through the man a long time, but I waited in the expectation that either God would convert him, or that like Judas he would betray himself; and this has

[1] Id., pp. 439, 440.

happened. Besides books and specie in gold and silver, there were found upon him three seals—his own, the prior's, and one of mine, and that not the old but the new one, which I had been forced by his tricks and rogueries to alter. Who can say to how many persons he has written just what he pleased, in my name, without my knowledge?" [1] A.D. 1125-1157.

We give one more short paragraph from Peter's

Bernard's Seal; size of the original. The Seal is of brass, and represents Bernard in his monkish dress, with shaven hair and chin, seated on a folding chair, the arms of which terminate in a serpent's head. In one hand he holds a crozier; in the other, what has been taken for a book or a church-door. The inscription is: ✠ SIGILLUM : BERNARDI : ABBATIS : CLAREVALL. The absence of the letter S (*Sancti*) before BERNARDI is a strong proof of genuineness; Bernard was canonized a few years after his death.—Neander, *St. Bernard*, pp. 314–316.

correspondence, being part of a letter written to his own notary, who was devoting himself to the study of the classics. Ever since the time of Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, the use of profane literature had been a subject of contention in the Church. Peter ranged himself on the prohibitory side; but although his sentence

[1] Id., pp. 442, 443; Neander, *St. Bernard*, p. 284, note.

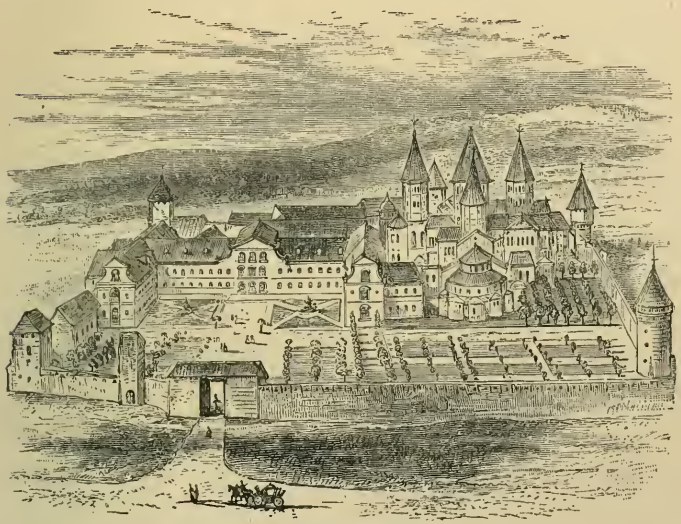
and counsel cannot be fully endorsed, the Christ-like spirit which inspired his pen is a worthy example for every student. "Truth, looking from heaven, and compassionating the misery of mortals, and taking the likeness of sinful flesh, cries: 'Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.' . . . See now, without the study of Plato, or the subtleties of Aristotle, the place and the way of happiness are discovered. Let man quit the teacher's chair, for the God-man sits down to teach, and says: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' Why dost thou seek through thousands of words and multiplied labours what thou mayest obtain in plain language and with little labour? Why dost thou recite with the comedians, lament with the tragedians, deceive with the poets, and be deceived with the philosophers?"[1]

After the death of Peter the Venerable, Cluny lost its lustre. It continued to be learned, wealthy and powerful, but its spiritual lamp was dimmed. The Cluniacs excelled in the arts of calligraphy and illumination, and from the twelfth century, owing to their labours and those of the Cistercian and Carthusian communities, there was a vast increase in the number of books. Cluny itself possessed a rich library of Greek and Latin authors.[2]

[1] Maitland, p. 445.

[2] Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, i. p. 72.

In 1245, when Pope Innocent IV. was a fugitive in France, and the prelates and abbots rallied round him, the prior of Cluny presented him with eighty palfreys splendidly caparisoned, besides a large sum of money, and a palfrey each for the twelve cardinals ; and in return he was appointed by the pope his master of the horse.[1] A.D. 1157-1793.



The Abbey of Cluny. From a model taken before the Revolution, and preserved in a chamber of the College into which the remains of the buildings have been converted.

From this time we hear but little of Cluny until the Revolution. At the suppression of the monasteries, the monks were driven out and the destruction of the buildings was decreed by the Republic. The mayor of Cluny, anxious to save so magnificent a monument, went himself to

[1] Milman, iv. p. 428.

Paris and petitioned that it might be converted into a hospital for invalid soldiers. But the inhabitants of the Commune, eager to make money of the materials and the site, presented a remonstrance, alleging that the vicinity of the military veterans would corrupt the morals of the town. The remonstrance prevailed. The church was first demolished; the south bell-tower and a chapel enclosing a tomb, supposed to be that of Peter the Venerable, alone being left: the bells were melted into cannon for the Republican armies. The abbey walls offered so formidable a resistance that a detachment of troops was called in to assist in the work of destruction. "When this was accomplished, when the last offending buttress had been battered down, the people made a pile of the paintings, statues of wood, and carved work, and setting fire to them in the public square, celebrated their triumph by dancing round with yells and shouting. Some years afterwards, on his way to assume the iron crown of Lombardy, Napoleon passed through the department. At a town where he stopped to change horses, he was met by a deputation from the Commune with a request that he would honour them by taking Cluny in his route. 'Begone!' was the stern reply. 'You are a race of Vandals; you have suffered your grand and beautiful church to be sold and destroyed; I shall not visit Cluny.'"[1]

[1] Neander, translator's preface, pp. xvii-xix.

What remains of the abbey, besides the church itself, has been converted into an *École normale professionnelle.*[1] The library has been taken to Paris, but a few relics are still preserved on the spot, such as the long crook with which the monks used to set apart the abbot's tenth sheaf in the fields; a massive chest and escritoire, and some weighty coffers of oak, which were the abbot's "portmanteaux" when he travelled. The town of Cluny, like St. Gall, grew up round the great ecclesiastical edifice. Its streets are narrow and winding, and at the present time ill-kept. They abound in ancient houses, some dating from the twelfth century, very quaint both without and within.

A.D. 1793-1804.

[1] Richard, *Guide en France*, p. 81.

CHAPTER III.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages (*continued*). —Cîteaux.

Per. IV. Chap. 3.

From Cluny we must travel some leagues in a north-easterly direction, still in Burgundy, to note the foundation of a rival house, which was to eclipse that renowned convent, if not in privileges and wealth, yet in its influence on the religious life of Christendom. This was Cîteaux (in Latin, Cistercium), twelve miles south of Dijon, then a wilderness covered with woods and briars.

Two brothers of the noble house of Molesme (a castle south-east of Troyes) were riding through a forest on their way to a tournament. Suddenly each was seized with the temptation to murder the other, and thus secure the whole of their paternal inheritance. They both wrestled with the dark phantom, and mastered it. Some years afterwards they passed together again along the same dreary road, and the recollection of their former temptation came back to them. They shuddered at the fearful power of the enemy, hastened to confess themselves to a hermit, and then disclosed to each other what had been their secret thoughts. With

one accord they resolved to abandon a world which bred such dreadful suggestions, and devote themselves to God. Accordingly they gathered around them in the forest of Colan, near the family estate, a small community which grew into a monastery, one of the brothers, Robert, being made the first abbot. It was affiliated to Cluny.[1] A.D. 1098.

The course of the new monastery did not run smooth. Robert was a zealous disciplinarian; the major part of the monks were lax and ungovernable. The more earnest members of the community, weary of seeing the rules of the order perpetually disregarded, asked permission of the abbot to withdraw to some other place where they might serve God without distraction. Robert not only gave them permission, but declared that he would himself accompany them. Having obtained the sanction of the papal legate, he himself with his prior, and with Stephen Harding an Englishman, and eighteen other monks, left Molesme (A.D. 1098) to seek, as Milman expresses it, "a more complete solitude, a more obstinate wilderness to tame, more sense-subduing poverty, more intense mortification." Such a spot they found at Cîteaux.[2]

It was not the object of this little band to found a new order of monks, but rather, as at

[1] Milman, iii. pp. 331, 332.

[2] Ibid.; Maitland, pp. 352–355.

Per. IV. Chap. 3.

Cluny, to recall the monastic life to the original spirit and strict rule of Benedict.[1] Fuller quaintly puts the case: "As mercers, when their old stuffes begin to tire in sale, refresh them with new names to make them more vendible; so, when the Benedictines waxed stale in the world, the same order was set forth in a new edition, corrected and amended under the names, first of Cluniacs:—these were Benedictines sifted through a finer search, with some additionals invented and imposed upon them by Odo, abbot of Cluny; secondly Cistercians, so called from one Robert, living in Cistercium in Burgundy aforesaid; he the second time refined the drossy Benedictines."[2]

"These monks of Cîteaux," says Morison, de-

[1] It was perhaps in order to signify more plainly this intention, that they changed the colour of their garments from black to white. See however for other supposed reasons, *A Concise History of the Cistercian Order*, pp. 66–71.

[2] *Church History of Britain*, b. vi. sec. 1, § 2; Maitland, p. 357, note. Cîteaux was not the only attempt at reformation in this period on the part of those who aimed only at the correction of abuses, unconscious that the foundations themselves were out of course. A pious and learned ecclesiastic named Bruno, shocked at the profanation of holy things which he daily witnessed in the archbishopric of Cologne, sought refuge in a life of the strictest asceticism. With twelve companions, about the year 1084, he settled himself down in the wild valley of Chartreux (Carthusium) not far from Grenoble, founding the abbey since known as *La Grande Chartreuse*, where they spent their day in silence, devotional exercises, study, and manual labour. They employed their leisure hours in transcribing manuscripts. The Carthusians enjoyed the rare merit of long maintaining unaltered their strict mode of living and contemplative habits, even when their order had become famous and their monasteries richly endowed.—Neander, vii. pp. 367, 368. Another such instance is afforded by the pious Norbert, who about the year 1119 founded the order of Premonstratensians.—Id., pp. 339, 440.

scribing their habits in the early days, "though very wonderful, do not tempt one to join. They actually keep the whole of St. Benedict's rule literally, not conventionally and with large allowances, as is usual [even] in the strictest houses. They eat but one meal a day, and have risen twelve hours from their hard couches, and sung psalms, and worked in the fields, before they get even that. They never taste meat, fish, grease or eggs, and even milk only rarely. Their dress consists of three garments, and those of the coarsest wool. Their church shows no attempt towards picturesque beauty, but in all things aims at the austerest simplicity."[1] A.D. 1098-1100.

For a while it seemed as though the experiment would prove a failure. The little community, unrecruited from without, was thinned by death; a season of scarcity bringing with it an epidemic sickness. But just at the moment when affairs were at their worst, new elements of life were infused. Robert being by command of the pope obliged to return to his former charge at Molesme, Alberic his prior was elected abbot in his room, and on Alberic's death in 1109, Stephen succeeded to the vacant seat. Stephen Harding was a native of Sherborne in Dorsetshire,[2] and was instructed in

[1] *Life and Times of Saint Bernard*, pp. 16, 17. "The crosses were of iron or painted wood; the lamps, candlesticks, censers, of brass or iron, and the chalices of silver gilt."—*A Concise History of the Cistercian Order*, p. 87.

[2] Sherborne had long been an ecclesiastical centre, having been made

Per. IV. Chap. 3.

the priory at that place in reading, writing, music, and the services of the Church. Under the tyrannical rule of William the Conqueror he fled to Scotland, and thence removed to Paris, where he applied himself to the study of Holy Scripture and Biblical learning. After visiting Rome to view the tombs of the martyrs he joined Robert at Molesme, and thence accompanied him to Citeaux. Stephen was a man of piety,[1] extensive learning, and large administrative capacity. He conceived the project of retaining in intimate connection with Citeaux all the religious houses which should spring from it. A general chapter of the heads of these houses was to be held yearly, for the transaction of the common affairs and for the weal of the whole order; and the abbot of Citeaux was himself to visit at least once a year all the affiliated houses. The document in which this scheme was embodied was called the *Charter of Charity*. Of Stephen's erudition we have convincing proof

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an episcopal town in A.D. 705, when Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, was appointed to the see (since become that of Salisbury). Aldhelm was a member of the royal family of Wessex, and a man of activity, who did much to spread monastic Christianity in the west of England. He is the first Englishman whose literary works have come down to us; they are however of little interest.—*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i. p. 78; Giles, *Life of Aldhelm*, prefixed to his *Works*.

[1] It is related of him that when entering the church for even-song he was observed to press his finger forcibly upon the latch of the door, as if he would leave the impression of a seal. Being asked the meaning of the action, he replied: "The thoughts which occupy me during the day in the management of the monastery I leave here, and bid them remain until I call for them to-morrow morning after praise."—*Concise History*, p. 93.

in the corrected edition of the Latin Vulgate, which with the help of some learned Jews, he made from Hebrew manuscripts.[1] A.D. 1109-1113.

But it was not altogether or even mainly to the Charter of Charity, that Cîteaux was indebted for its rescue from decay or oblivion.

Some fifteen miles north, two miles beyond Dijon, stood the castle of Fontaines, whose ruins are still to be traced. It crowned a hill-summit, and commanded a fair prospect of the city, and beyond it the fruitful plain of the Saône in which Cîteaux lay, bounded by the mountains of the Côte d'Or. Here dwelt the wealthy baron Tesselin, vassal and friend of the Duke of Burgundy. He was a true knight, the very mirror of chivalry, as gentle as he was brave. Being drawn upon a time into a quarrel, it was agreed to settle the matter by single combat. Tesselin was the stronger of the two, and victory would have been easy, but the man's soul was disquieted. The fear of the divine judgments weighed upon him; and he resolved to be reconciled to his adversary. And so when the time came and the two champions appeared at the place of meeting, instead of drawing his sword Tesselin frankly gave up the point in dispute. His wife Alith was a pious and charitable lady. She sought out the poor, relieved their sick, and "cleansed

[1] Id., pp. 89–93, 58, 59, 63, 81–83, 105; Morison, pp. 39–41. The work, written on vellum in six folio volumes, is still preserved in the city library of Dijon. Its date is 1110. It is carefully and clearly engrossed.

their cups and vessels with her own hands." In her latter years she rivalled the devotions and austerities of the nuns, striving, alas, after that mistaken pattern "of self-sacrifice and holiness which alone was attractive and beautiful in that age." So great was her reputation that when she died, the abbot of St. Benignus in Dijon (now the cathedral) came to Fontaines and begged her body as a most precious treasure. He and his monks bore it away upon their shoulders, and were met by a large concourse of people with crosses and tapers, who accompanied them to the church where they buried her.[1] To Tesselin and Alith was born, in the year 1091, a son, who received the name of Bernard.

The boy was sent in due time to the church-school of Châtillon, where he distinguished himself by his progress, and was remarked as being not only studious but fond of retirement and "marvellously cogitative." His mother had destined him for the Church, but after her death the young nobles, his companions, sought to win him to their company by pleasures and adventures. Finding these inducements too feeble to tempt so ardent and soaring a spirit, they set before him a more insidious bait. The nations of Europe were at

[1] Morison, pp. 1–8. Alith's chair, or what is traditionally believed to be such, is still to be seen in the Ducal Palace (now the Hôtel de Ville) at Dijon. It is of inlaid oak, roomy and comfortable. In the same hall is also to be seen Bernard's wooden cup which he used at Citeaux, now bound with brass, and the crozier of Robert, the first abbot, curiously carved and ornamented.

this time rousing themselves from the slumber of the tenth century, and an extraordinary enthusiasm for literature and philosophy was springing up, especially in France; the young men who had previously aspired to honour only by the weapons of war, now sought it by those of dialectics. It was at this very period that Abelard, having overcome his rival William of Champeaux, was lecturing in Paris to a vast concourse of students. For some time Bernard was dazzled by the allurements of this new path to glory. But the impression made upon him by his mother's teaching and example survived long after her death, and could not be effaced even by this temptation. Her image was constantly before him; he pondered over the discourses she had held with him, and the plans she had formed for him; and his ardent imagination led him to believe that she appeared visibly and severely rebuked him for his indecision. Journeying alone to visit two of his brothers, who were in the camp of the Duke of Burgundy laying siege to the Castle of Grancy, he thought he again beheld her and heard her speaking to him in the same accents of reproof. Retiring into a church by the roadside, "he lifted his hands towards heaven, and with a torrent of tears poured forth his heart like water in the presence of his Lord."[1]

A.D. 1091-1113.

This was the turning-point. When he arose

[1] Id., pp. 11–13; Neander, *St. Bernard*, pp. 3–5.

Per. IV. Chap. 3.

from his knees, he solemnly vowed that he would become a monk. Not satisfied with this, he at once sought to induce his kindred to follow him into the cloister. In this endeavour he displayed "that commanding personal ascendancy, that overpowering influence of spirit, which hardly met with a defeat during his whole life." His uncle, the opulent Count of Touillon, of high renown in arms, was the first to join him. Bartholomew and Andrew, his two younger brothers, made but small resistance to his earnest appeal. The eldest, Guido, who had wife and children, was harder to win, but at length he too yielded. Gerard, the second in age, a brave and prudent knight, despised this sudden resolution of the rest as an impulse of levity, and withstood all Bernard's solicitations. "I know, my brother," rejoined Bernard, "that it is suffering alone which will bring thee to reflection." Then placing his hand on Gerard's side: "It shall come to pass, and quickly too, that a lance shall pierce thee here, and make a way to thy heart for the counsel of salvation which thou now despisest." A few days afterwards, when engaged in fighting, Gerard was surrounded and carried off captive with a spear in his side. "I turn monk," he exclaimed, "monk of Cîteaux!" [1]

Many of the new votaries being married, Bernard caused a nunnery to be erected at Jouilli near

[1] Neander, pp. 6–8; Morison, pp. 13–15.

Dijon for their wives, Guido's consort being appointed the first abbess. He then led his followers, about thirty in number, to Châtillon, where during six months in rigorous seclusion they prepared themselves for the monastic life. At the end of that time, Bernard and his brothers returned to Fontaines to take a final leave of their paternal home. Nivard, the youngest son, was playing with some other children in the street,[1] and Guido addressing him said, "See, my brother, the whole of our paternal inheritance will now devolve on thee." To which the boy answered: "What, do you take heaven for yourselves, and leave me only the earth? this is no fair division." He afterwards joined the fraternity; and the old baron, full of grief at the loss of his sons, retired to Clairvaux soon after the establishment of that abbey, and himself took the vows.[2] A.D. 1113.

It did not accord with Bernard's self-denying purpose to make choice of any of the richer and more illustrious abbeys; he selected the poor and struggling convent of Cîteaux. This house, then of fifteen years' foundation, was, as has been said, reduced to a very low condition. On a memorable day, not only in the history of Cîteaux, but in that of the world, Bernard, then twenty-two years of age, presented himself with thirty companions

[1] An ancient narrow street still runs down from the crest of the hill where the castle stood.

[2] Neander, pp. 8–10, and note 2.

Per IV. Chap. 3.

at the gate of the monastery. This was in the year 1113. Many of the little company were of noble rank, and all were animated in a greater or less degree with the enthusiastic spirit of their leader.[1]

Although the rule of the convent was excessively severe it was insufficient to satisfy Bernard's craving after spiritual life. In him the spirit of the ancient Egyptian monks may be said to have revisited the earth. He dwelt alone, save when on his knees with the rest in the choir. He passed whole days "in ecstatic contemplation, so that seeing he saw not, and hearing he heard not. Time given to sleep he regarded as lost." Of the scanty food which he took, rather to avert death than to sustain life, his unconscious taste lost all perception, whether it was nauseous or wholesome. Extreme weakness of stomach followed these severities, yet "his dauntless spirit never yielded." So long as he was able he joined the other monks in their hard manual labour; and when obliged to give up such work, he turned to lighter but more menial offices, that he might supply by humility his deficiency in toil.[2]

"The visits of his friends who were still in the world were a source of great disquiet to him. Their conversation brought back thoughts and feelings which he had determined to leave for

[1] Id., pp. 10, 11.

[2] Morison, pp. 18–20; Milman, iii. p. 335.

ever. After their departure, on one occasion, he went to attend the office of *Nones*, and as usual lifted his mind to prayer; but immediately found that God's grace and favour were not vouchsafed as before. That idle talk was evidently the cause. The next time they came he was prepared. Stopping his ears with little wads of flax, and burying his head deep in his cowl, although exposed for an hour to their conversation, he heard nothing, and even spoke nothing except a few words to edification." [1] A.D. 1113-1115.

When at work in the fields, Bernard was accustomed "to look through nature up to nature's God." "Any knowledge of divine things that I may possess," he wrote in after-years, "or any facility in explaining Holy Scripture, has been obtained through meditation and prayer in the fields, with none but the beeches and oaks for my teachers." "Believe me," he wrote to a celebrated teacher of the speculative philosophy, "thou wilt find more in woods than in books, and trees and stones shall teach thee that which thou canst not learn from man." [2] Especially were the sufferings of our Lord the theme of his meditation. He compared this exercise to the bundle of myrrh

[1] Morison, p. 19.

[2] "This our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."
—*As you Like it.*

Had Shakspeare read Bernard?

Per. IV. Chap. 3.

which the Spouse in the Canticles gathers with pious care to plant in her bosom. "From the very beginning of my conversion, my brethren," so he expresses himself in one of his sermons, "feeling my own great deficiency, I took this nosegay, composed of all the sufferings and pains of my Saviour, of the privations He submitted to in his childhood, the labours He endured in his preaching, the fatigue He underwent in his journeyings, his watchings in prayer, his temptations in fasting, his tears of compassion, the snares laid for his words, his perils among false brethren, the outrages, spitting, smiting, mockery, insults, nails. In these contemplations I find relief from sadness, moderation in success, and safety on the highway of life. My most sublime philosophy is to know Jesus Christ and Him crucified."[1]

Bernard's reputation soon drew so many votaries to Cîteaux, that the convent became too small to receive them. The very year in which he was admitted a colony was settled at La Fertè, on the river Grône; the next year another was planted at Pontigny; and in 1115 Bernard himself was selected by Stephen to go forth and found a new monastery in such place as he might choose. Twelve monks, representing the twelve Apostles, were chosen to accompany him, of whom four were his brothers, one his uncle and another a kins-

[1] Neander, pp. 12, 66.

man. After divine service in the church, Stephen placed a cross in Bernard's hands, who at the head of his little band solemnly walked forth from Cîteaux. "When," says the Cistercian Chronicle, "Bernard and his twelve monks silently took their departure, although nothing was to be heard but the voices of those who were singing the hymns, you might have seen tears in the eyes of all present." [1] A.D. 1113-1200.

Notwithstanding Bernard's departure the fame of Cîteaux daily increased, and candidates for the white cowl flocked thither in overwhelming numbers. Within fifty years of its foundation it could reckon as belonging to it five hundred affiliated abbeys or nunneries; by the commencement of the next century these had increased to eighteen hundred; and at one time, it is stated, there were no fewer than ten thousand.[2]

Good doubtless was effected by the planting of so many religious houses, glowing with the ardour of their first love. But this good was not unmixed.

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[1] *Concise History*, pp. 99, 100; Neander, pp. 12–14, and note.

[2] *Concise History*, p. 126. Most of the great English abbeys, such as Tintern, Rievaulx, Fountains, Furness, Netley, were Cistercian. The first of the order in this country was Waverley in Surrey, founded 1128; two others were planted before Stephen's death. "The order," says this Roman Catholic writer, "took to itself all the quiet nooks, valleys, and pleasant streams of Old England, and gladdened the soul of the labourer by its constant bells. Its agricultural character was peculiarly suited to the country." He adds a wish to which we cannot respond in the sense intended. "May the prayers of St. Stephen be heard before the Throne of Grace for that dear country, now lying under the wrath of God for the sins of its children!"—Id., pp. 109, 110.

The charity of their *Charter* did not extend to those who differed from them. When the Church began to take systematic action for the suppression of heresy, it was Cistercian monks who everywhere traversed the land preaching with furious zeal the crusade against the Albigenses; it was Cistercian monks whom the pope chose to confute and brow-beat the reformers, and to incite their fellow-citizens against them; and an abbot of Cîteaux itself was the inspiring genius and leader of the detestable enterprise.[1]

After a time, as might be expected, abuses crept into the Cistercian monasteries, and discipline began to hang down her hands. A fruitful source of mischief was that the patron of a monastery, on the death of the abbot, sometimes conferred the revenues on some kinsman or favourite *in commendam*, as it was called. These abbots *in commendam* were often not monks at all; some never visited the abbeys whose revenues they enjoyed; others "quietly established themselves in the house with wife and children; and the tramp of soldiers, the neighing of horses and baying of hounds, made the cloister more like a knight's castle than a place dedicated to God's service."[2]

Many attempts at reformation were made, the most noted by the celebrated De Rancé, who in the year 1664 instituted a discipline more rigorous

[1] See below, pp. 511, 520, 533.

[2] *Concise History*, pp. 132, 133.

even than that of the first founders, and worthy of the Eastern anchorites. From the name of his monastery, La Trappe,[1] this order was called the Trappists.[2] "The monks, though living in the same house, were strangers to one another. Each one followed to the choir, the garden or the refectory, the feet that were moving before him, but he never raised his eyes to discover to whom the feet belonged. There were some who passed the entire year of their novitiate without lifting up their eyes, and who after that long period could not tell how the ceiling of their cells was constructed, or whether they had any ceilings at all. Mention is made of one whose whole anxiety

XII.–XVII. Cent.

[1] In the department of Orne on the border of Normandy. "Perhaps there is not a situation in the whole world more calculated to inspire religious awe, than the first view of the monastery of La Trappe. The total solitude, the undisturbed silence, is indescribable. The only adequate comparison of sensation I can make, is that excited by the sight of death. . . . The long and steep valley is interspersed with eleven lakes. The waters are completely stagnant, their hue is dark and dismal. These lakes connecting one with another in two circles, form a double moat about the monastery. . . . In the morning and evening the exhalations arising from the waters are so thick that only its dark grey towers, above the curling vapour, or the deep tone of its bell, announces to the traveller that he has reached his journey's end." Around the abbey is "a venerable grove of aged oak-trees. Over the gateway is a statue of St. Bernard. He holds in one hand a church, and in the other a spade: the emblems of devotion and labour." Above the gate of the convent is inscribed,

"C'est ici que la mort et la vérité
Elèvent leurs flambeaux terribles;
C'est de cette demeure au monde inaccessible
Que l'on passe à l'éternité."

—Dom C. Lancelot's *Tour to Alet*, etc., 1667, adapted by M. A. Schimmelpenninck, i. pp. 124–126, and note. The ponds have long since been drained.

[2] "Reformed Bernardines of La Trappe."

Per. IV. Chap. 3.

was for an only brother, whom he had left leading a scandalous and disorderly life in the world. He never passed a day without shedding a tear over him, and praying God to give him the grace of repentance and amendment. On his death-bed the monk asked one request of the abbot, viz., that when he was gone he would pray for the wanderer. De Rancé retired for a moment, and returned with one of the most useful and valued members of the brotherhood. When the cowl which concealed his features was removed, the dying monk recognized the brother for whom he had so often wept and prayed!"[1]

Some remains of the ancient monastery of Cîteaux still exist, and form part of a large reformatory for boys which covers the original site.

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[1] *Concise History*, pp. 132, 141, 146, 147.

CHAPTER IV.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages (*continued*).—Clairvaux, and Bernard.

Section I. We left Bernard and his twelve disciples issuing from the walls of Cîteaux. They took a northerly direction, and after a journey of about ninety miles arrived at La Fertè on the river Aube, in Champagne, between Troyes and Chaumont. Four miles beyond this little town lies a shallow valley encircled by thickly-wooded hills. It was once a den of robbers, and was called from the abundance of the plant which grew there, the Valley of Wormwood; but after Bernard settled at the spot its name was changed to the Bright Valley (Claravallis, Clairvaux). The little company arrived in June, and began at once to provide for shelter and sustenance. "The rude fabric which they raised was long preserved by pious veneration. It consisted of a building covered by a single roof, under which chapel, dormitory and refectory were all included. The bare earth served for floor; the windows were scarcely wider than a man's hand. Immediately above the refectory was the sleeping apartment, a loft reached by a ladder. The beds were boxes or bins of planks, A.D. 1115.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

a small space hewn out with an axe allowing room for the sleeper to get in or out. The inside was strewn with chaff or dried leaves. At the summit of the ladder was the abbot's cell, a framework of boards was his bed, with two logs of wood for his pillows." The toil of building left the brethren but little time to provide themselves with food. They had taken possession of the wilderness too late in the year to sow the ground, and the neighbouring farmers, who at first ministered to their wants, soon became familiar with their sanctity and their necessities, and ceased to regard either. Their food was bread made of barley, and millet, with beech-leaves cooked in brine, and when these failed there was nothing left but nuts and roots. Their clothes too were wearing out.[1]

The hearts of the brethren, stout as they were, began to quail: "they would not remain in this valley of bitterness, they would return to Cîteaux." It was all Bernard could do to prevent them. He had recourse to prayer. As he prayed, he thought he heard a voice from heaven: "Arise, Bernard, thy prayers are heard." On which the monks said, "What didst thou ask of the Lord?" "Wait, and ye shall see, ye of little faith," was the reply; and presently there came a stranger, who gave the abbot ten livres. Another time their supply of salt failing, Bernard said to one of the brethren,

[1] Morison, pp. 26–28; Neander, p. 13; Milman, iii. p. 335.

"Guibert, saddle the ass, go to the fair and buy us salt." Guibert answered, "Where is the money?" "Take faith," replied Bernard, "for as to money, I know not when we shall have any; but He who is above holds my purse in his hands." The monk smiled and rejoined, "It seems to me, father, that if I go empty-handed, I shall return empty-handed." "Nevertheless go," replied the abbot, "and go in faith. I tell thee our Treasurer will be with thee, and will supply all thou needest." Guibert received his abbot's benediction and went, though still more than doubtful of the issue. On the way he met a priest who inquired his business. Guibert told his errand, and made known the indigent state of his convent; the compassionate priest, taking him to his own house, gave him half a bushel of salt and fifty shillings. On Guibert's return with his panniers filled, Bernard said to him, "I tell thee, my son, no one thing is so necessary to a Christian as faith; keep hold of faith, and it will be well with thee all the days of thy life."[1] A.D. 1115.

After this crisis was over, brighter days opened on Clairvaux. Indeed, as Morison observes, the way to fame for a new monastery seems to have been "first of all to get nearly extinguished by cold and hunger." Stephen Harding had appointed Bernard abbot of the new foundation. The ap-

[1] Morison, pp. 28, 29; Neander, p. 15, note.

pointment was incomplete without episcopal ordination. Bernard received this at the hands of William of Champeaux, mentioned above. Through his emaciated frame and features, and homely, not to say ragged apparel, the bishop discerned the lofty intellect and unquenchable spirit which dwelt in so frail a tabernacle, and became his admirer and steadfast friend.[1]

The labours and anxieties through which he had passed, added to his own excessive austerities, brought Bernard to the brink of the grave. William, hearing of his dangerous condition, came to visit him, hoping to induce him to spare himself and take rest. But Bernard would hear of no relaxation, either of his duties or austerities; whereupon William set off for Cîteaux. He found the chapter assembled, and asked permission to direct and manage Bernard for one year. The leave was granted, and Bernard, obedient to the commands of his superiors, resigned himself into William's hands. The latter caused a small cottage to be built outside the monastery walls, where Bernard was to dwell, exempted from the monastic regimen, and from the daily care of the abbey. How far this prescription so affectionately intended was successful, may be learnt from his friend and biographer, the abbot of St. Thierry, who, accompanied by another abbot, visited him in his hut.

[1] Morison, pp, 29, 30.

"It was about this time (1116), that my visits to Clairvaux began. I found the saint enjoying a state of perfect tranquillity, and living to God as though he already tasted the delights of Paradise. When I entered the chamber and beheld the lodging and the guest, a feeling of veneration came over me as if I had been approaching the altar of God. He welcomed us with gracious kindness, and when we inquired how he fared, and how he liked his new mode of life, 'Excellent well,' he replied, with his usual benevolent smile, 'I who have hitherto ruled over rational men, am now by the just judgment of God obliged to submit myself to an irrational being.' This he spoke concerning a conceited quack to whose care he had been entrusted, and who undertook to cure him. When we sat down to table, I expected to find his diet suited to the state of so precious an invalid, but he was served on the contrary by the doctor's orders, with lumps of rancid butter and other viands so revolting, that a healthy man pinched by hunger would hardly have touched them. We were indignant and could scarce restrain ourselves from breaking the rule of silence, and reproaching the empiric as a sacrilegious homicide. But he to whom this was done took it all with indifference, and approved of everything. His sense of taste seemed dead: water, he said, was the only thing pleasant to him, cooling the fever of his throat and mouth. I tarried with him

A.D. 1115-1116.

a few days. I thought I saw all around me a new heaven and a new earth, crossed by the old pathways of our fathers, the Egyptian monks, and the recent footsteps of some men of our own time. The golden age seemed to have returned in Clairvaux."[1]

The whole convent was animated by Bernard's spirit and example. Men of illustrious descent who had played a distinguished part in the theatre of the world, now toiled in the sweat of their brow, and practised the extreme of self-denial. His biographer thus describes the scene which presented itself on entering the valley. "It was a dreary spot, enclosed by gloomy woods and rugged hills, and as the traveller came down the slope he saw the valley full of men industriously occupied, but in profound silence, only interrupted by the sound of the implements and hymns of praise. So solemn was the stillness that strangers forbore to speak on any but sacred subjects, until they had passed beyond its precincts."[2]

At the expiration of the year, Bernard hastened to throw off the surveillance of the empiric, and to resume his abbatial duties. But his health had been too far undermined to bear the convent rule, and he was compelled again to retire into a separate dwelling. It is instructive to find that in after-years he used to lament the youthful

[1] Morison, pp. 31–33; Neander, pp. 14–18, and note.

[2] Id., pp. 18, 19.

enthusiasm which had led him thus to waste his strength.[1] A.D. 1116-1125.

Some remarkable anecdotes are told of Bernard's faith and of his power over men. During one of his visits to Paris, A.D. 1125, he was requested to lecture in the schools. He did so, dilating on "the true philosophy,"—contempt for the world, and voluntary poverty assumed for Christ's sake. To his surprise and grief his discourse made no impression; not one of his hearers was converted. Returning to the house of the archdeacon with whom he lodged, he fell immediately to prayer; as his soul waxed more and more fervent, he was overcome with a torrent of tears, and his sobs and groans were heard outside the room. The archdeacon inquired what could be the cause of such grief? A monk who knew Bernard well replied: "That wonderful man, inflamed by the fire of charity and entirely absorbed in God, cares for nothing in this world, save only to recall the wandering to the ways of truth, and to gain their souls to Christ; and because he has been sowing the word of life in the schools and has gathered no fruit in the conversion of the clerics, he thinks

[1] Id., pp. 17-22. He thus warns beginners against the excesses of asceticism. "It is your self-will which teaches you not to spare nature, nor listen to reason. I fear lest beginning in the Spirit you will end in the flesh. Do you not know that a messenger of Satan often clothes himself as an angel of light? God is Wisdom, and requires a love which unites itself with Wisdom. The cunning enemy has no surer means of banishing love from the heart than by seducing men to walk imprudently, and not according to reason."—Neander, *Church History*, vii. p. 334.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

God is angry with him. Hence this storm of groans and tears; I confidently anticipate that a full harvest to-morrow will compensate for to-day's sterility." The next morning Bernard preached again and with a very different result; for as soon as his sermon was over, several of his hearers expressed their desire to become monks. Taking these with him he set out for Clairvaux, and passed the night at St. Denis. The next day however, instead of continuing his journey homewards, he said, "We must return to Paris, there are still some there who belong to us." As they re-entered the city they saw three ecclesiastics coming towards them, at the sight of whom Bernard exclaimed: "God has helped us; behold those for whom we returned!" When the clerics came near, they addressed him: "O most blessed father, hast thou come back to us who desired thee so much? We were minded to follow, but hardly hoped to overtake thee." "I knew it, beloved," he replied; "we will now, by God's grace, go on together." They accompanied him to Clairvaux, and continued under its rule the remainder of their lives.[1]

Section II. A wider scene now opens before us. In 1130, on the death of Pope Honorius II., two rival factions contended for the possession of the papal chair. One chose the Cardinal of St.

[1] Morison, pp. 68–70.

Angelo, who took the name of Innocent II.; the other, the Cardinal of St. Mary Trastevere, who was styled Anacletus II. The latter, with the assistance of Robert the Norman Duke of Sicily, made himself paramount in Rome, and compelled his opponent to take refuge in France. Bernard passionately espoused the cause of the exiled pope, and it was mainly through his means that the trans-Alpine kingdoms, France, Germany and England, recognized Innocent as the lawful successor of Peter. In the course of the long journeys he undertook with this object, he had an interview with our king Henry I., "the wisest soldier-statesman of his age, face to face with the greatest monk of Christendom." They met at Chartres. "Henry was undecided as to which pope would suit him best. His own clergy had a leaning towards Anacletus; that might be a reason for him to choose Innocent." "Art thou afraid," asked Bernard, "of incurring sin by acknowledging Innocent?" "Bethink thee," he added, with that presumption which seemed natural even to the best of churchmen, "how to answer for thy other sins to God; that one leave to me, I will account for it." Henry joined the party of Innocent.[1] A.D. 1125-1131.

Innocent paid a visit to Clairvaux. "He was met by a tattered flock of Christ's poor, preceded by a cross. They came on in solemn silence, every eye

[1] Id., pp. 149-154.

fixed on the ground; no prying curiosity watching and following the movements of the brilliant cavalcade. The pope and bishops were moved to tears at the sight of so much austerity and self-restraint. The plain unornamented church, the bare walls of the monastery, offered nothing to the Romans either to admire or wish for. The hard fare of the monks appeared more wonderful still. If by chance a fish was to be had, it was placed before the pope alone." [1]

When the tide turned in Innocent's favour and he ventured into Italy, Bernard accompanied him. As they drew near to Milan, "the whole population came out to meet the saint, as far as the seventh milestone. Nobles and common people on horse, on foot, all proceeded to welcome, with an incredible reverence, the man of God; they kissed his feet and sought to pluck even the hairs from his garment." Equal rejoicing manifested itself when he returned to Clairvaux. "Wherever he passed the shepherds came from their hills and the rustics from their fields, if it might be only to behold him afar off and implore his blessing; and when they had seen him they returned to their huts, rejoicing with one another that they had seen the saint of God." [2]

At the end of twenty years from its foundation, the monastery had outgrown its walls, not the

[1] Id., p. 158.

[2] Id., p. 165.

original barn of wood only, but the stone buildings by which that structure had been replaced. The prior with a few others of the brethren came to Bernard in his cottage to consult him. "The saint was in the heavens," says his biographer, "and they obliged him to come down and listen to their sublunary business." At first he appeared unwilling to make any change. "Our present stone buildings," he said, "have been erected at great cost and labour. If we sacrifice all this, worldly people may call us fickle, or say that too much riches have made us mad. In truth, however, we have not the money; he who intends to build a tower must first sit down and count the cost, otherwise it will be said of him. 'This man began to build and was not able to finish.'" They answered that God who sent them so many brethren would doubtless provide the means of erecting buildings for them. Bernard was delighted with their faith, and gave his consent. Help poured in abundantly, "bishops, nobles, merchants, without being pressed, gave liberally; labourers were hired, and the monks themselves fell vigorously to work," so that the new edifice was soon completed.[1] A.D. 1131-1135.

We come now to an incident which exhibits in the strongest colours the spiritual arrogance of the Romish Church. In the part he played on

[1] Id., pp. 168–170.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

this occasion, Bernard showed himself not inferior to Ambrose or even to Hildebrand.[1] William Count of Aquitaine had espoused the part of Pope Anacletus, and had thrust out from their sees the bishops of Poictiers and Limoges, who favoured the cause of Innocent, replacing them by creatures of his own. For this offence he was excommunicated by Innocent; and the papal legate, Geoffrey bishop of Chartres, was sent into Aquitaine to procure the reinstatement of the deposed bishops. Unable alone to contend against William, he entreated Bernard to lend him his powerful assistance. They met the count at Parthenay.[2] Bernard and Geoffrey employed all their arguments and influence to induce him to restore the bishops, and even threatened him with the fate of Dathan and Abiram. The count heard them patiently, and replied that he was ready to acknowledge Innocent and renounce Anacletus, but as to the expelled bishops, nothing in the world should induce him to receive them again; they had offended him beyond forgiveness. Finding the count intractable, Bernard and Geoffrey, with those who might lawfully do so, entered the church, William as an excommunicated person remaining outside, stand-

[1] For the former, see vol. i. pp. 164–168. Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.), sixty years before the period at which we are now arrived, had compelled the Emperor Henry IV. of Germany to stand as a penitent for three days ontside the gates of Canossa, thinly clad and fasting, with the ground deep in snow.—Milman, iii. pp. 168, 169.

[2] Not far from Poictiers.

ing by the door. Going up to the altar, Bernard performed the "overwhelming miracle" of the Mass, and then with the Host in his hand, and in a transport of religious fury, came forth to the count. Not now with words of entreaty, but with flashing eyes and in a voice of thunder he thus addressed him. "We have entreated thee, and thou hast spurned us. The united band of God's servants have implored thee, and them too thou hast spurned. Behold the Virgin's Son, the Head and Lord of that Church which thou persecutest, thy Judge is here into whose hands thy soul must fall. Wilt thou spurn Him also, wilt thou despise Him as thou hast done his servants?" A silence as of death fell upon the terrified spectators, who, bowing their heads in prayer, waited in expectation of an immediate judgment from heaven. The count, when he saw the awful countenance of Bernard, in whose hands he verily believed his Judge and Lord to be at that moment holden, became stiffened in every limb, and fell insensible to the ground. Raised up by his attendant knights, he could neither speak nor see, and again fell with his face on the grass, foaming at the mouth. Bernard came close, and pushing him with his foot, told him to stand up and hear the judgment of God. "Here," he said, "is the bishop of Poictiers; go and be reconciled to him. Restore him to his see, whence thou hast expelled him." The poor man heard, although he neither

A.D. 1135.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

dared nor was able to speak, and went at once to the bishop, gave him the kiss of peace, and reinstated him in his office. Soon the count was in friendly converse with Bernard, who admonished him for the future to avoid such impious doings, lest he should in the end weary out the Divine patience.[1]

The story of Bernard's life introduces us to an ecclesiastical descendant of the good Patrick, and shows us into how abject a condition the once flourishing and evangelizing Church of Ireland had fallen.

Malachy was consecrated bishop of Connaught at the age of thirty years. He soon discovered that he had been appointed, "not to rule over men, but over beasts, so insolent were they in their manners, so deadly in their rites,[2] so unbelieving in religion, so rebellious against discipline, so filthy in their lives. They were Christians in name, but pagans in reality. They would not pay tithes nor first-fruits, nor enter the bonds of wedlock, nor make confession, nor perform penance." In these untoward circumstances Malachy did what he could. "He passed whole nights sleepless, his hands lifted to God in prayer; he rebuked the rebels publicly and privately, and when they would not come to church, ran after them through the

[1] Morison, pp. 171–175; Neander, *St. Bernard*, pp. 105, 106.

[2] Does this, asks Morison, point to any remains of Druidical sacrifices? P. 242, note.

streets, and searched the city[1] for such as he might win to Christ." [2] A.D. 1139.

Celsus, the primate, by his will appointed Malachy his successor; but the Irish had the vicious custom of regarding the episcopal office as an heirloom, which ought not to be suffered to go out of the family; and Maurice, and after him Nigellus, of the "wicked seed" which had occupied the see of Armagh for two hundred years, succeeded for a while in keeping Malachy out of his office. In the end Nigellus yielded, and Malachy, to consolidate his authority, made a journey to Rome to solicit the pallium (archbishop's cloak).[3] In crossing France he halted at Clairvaux. Bernard gave him a cordial reception. He wondered to see so holy and active a servant of Christ from so barbarous a nation. "I was refreshed," he says, "by his look and word, and rejoiced as much as in all riches." At Rome Pope Innocent II. condoled with him on the length of his journey, and appointed him his legate in Ireland; but when he asked for the pallium, told him that if he would summon a general council of the bishops, clergy and chief men of the country, who should send a deputation to Rome, it should be granted. Then taking the

[1] Probably Tuam.

[2] Id., pp. 241–243.

[3] This vestment was bestowed by the pope upon archbishops, at first as a token of augmented dignity and indicative of vicarial authority, but by the eighth century it had come to be received by all archbishops as a badge of subordination to the "Apostolic See."—*Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, ii. pp. 1547, 1548.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

mitre from his own head he placed it on Malachy's, giving him also the stole and maniple which he himself wore. Malachy spent a month in the city, making the round of the holy places for prayer.[1]

Nine years afterwards he repeated his journey to solicit the pallium, and on the way again visited Clairvaux. He had been only a few days in the abbey when he was seized with fever. The monks were emulous in their efforts to relieve and restore him; but he foresaw that his days were numbered. On the former occasion he had entreated the pope for permission to live and die at Clairvaux, but his request had been refused. "Now," he said to the monks, "I shall not be baulked of my desire; He who has led me to the place which I sought will not deny me the end I have wished for. This poor body will find its resting-place here, and as concerns my soul, the Lord will provide, who saves those who place their hope in Him." When he was to receive extreme unction, he would not allow the brethren to go up to the cell where he lay, but came down to them, and having taken the *viaticum* returned to his bed. None could believe he was dying. "His countenance," says Bernard, "was not pale, nor his forehead wrinkled, nor his eyes sunken, nor his flesh wasted. Such grace was in his body, such glory in his countenance, as

[1] Morison, pp. 243–249.

even the hand of death could not efface. With psalms and hymns," he continues, "we followed our friend on his homeward journey. He died in his fifty-fourth year, at the place and time he had chosen and foretold."[1] A.D. 1120-1142.

Section III. We have referred to the scholastic theology which arose about the end of the eleventh century. From the time of a controversy on the Lord's Supper between Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and Berengar of Tours, the relish for the treatment of theology by the method of logic, as opposed to tradition, spread through Europe with astonishing rapidity. Lanfranc's disciple Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury in 1109, is regarded as the first of the *Schoolmen*. Paris was the chief seat of the new philosophy; and next to it, after the year 1200, was Oxford. The most distinguished teacher at the beginning of the twelfth century was Bernard's friend, William of Champeaux, who taught in the cathedral-school at Paris with great reputation, until the superior genius of his famous pupil, Peter Abelard, threw him into the shade.[2]

Abelard pursued the theological speculations to which Origen in the third century had pointed the way, and with a more daring spirit. His lectures awakened in the youthful students an

[1] Id., pp. 413–416.

[2] Gieseler, iii. pp. 277–282; see *ante*, p. 359.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

enthusiastic admiration both for himself and his philosophy. The bishops and higher clergy took alarm, and a council was summoned at Soissons by the papal legate, before which Abelard was cited as a heretic, A.D. 1121. He was condemned without even being allowed to explain or defend his opinions. "The council," he says, "without discussion or examination, compelled me to burn my book" (his *Treatise on the Divine Trinity and Unity*) "with my own hands. And so it was burnt amid general silence." When he rose to expound his belief in his own words, his judges said there was no necessity for anything beyond the recital of the Athanasian Creed, "a thing which any boy could do." Thus saying, they placed before him a copy of the creed, as though it had been something altogether new to him. It was notorious that Abelard could not consistently subscribe the creed, that all he had written was in contravention of it, yet he wanted the moral courage to stand by his principles. Origen would have taught him otherwise, because in Origen the lofty flight of the intellect was controlled and regulated by a large measure of the love of Christ, and the humility of a child of God.[1] "I read the creed," says Abelard, "as

[1] The honour paid to intellectual superiority blinds men to the infinitely greater worth of moral integrity. It is common, for example, to style Galileo a martyr of science, and to condone his abjuration before Pope Urban VIII. of the cosmical truth that the earth moves round the sun. But he would have left a far nobler name, and been a far greater benefactor to mankind, had he stood faithful to his own conscience, and set an example of fidelity to truth.

well as I could amidst sobs, sighs and tears; and A.D. 1121.
then, like a convicted criminal, was delivered over to the abbot of St. Medard, to be kept in close custody in his monastery." Nevertheless this arbitrary condemnation by the synod of Soissons only increased his fame.[1]

Bernard occupied in theology a position the very opposite to that of Abelard. Holding that the mysterious doctrines of revelation are beyond the reach of intellectual analysis, he condemned every departure from the received teaching of Scripture upon divine things.

Abelard had asked: "Why may not God, by an act of his will alone, forgive men their sins, and deliver them from the power of Satan? What need is there in order to this, of the sufferings of Christ? Christ before his passion forgave many their sins. . . . How can God become reconciled to man through the death of his Son, when this death could not happen without involving the sin of so many who crucified Him, which sin was certainly far greater than Adam's, the partaking of a forbidden apple? If God was so angry on account of that first sin, how can He be appeased in the case of so many far greater sins? How unjust and cruel that God should require the blood of an innocent person as the price of pardoning so many guilty!" Accordingly he looked upon the incar-

[1] Morison, pp. 271–273; Gieseler, iii. p. 284.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

nation and passion of the Son of God as simply a manifestation of divine love, and inferred that the "amazing grace shown us by God, who gave his own Son to become man and suffer for us, must enkindle in us such love in return, as to make us ready to endure all suffering for his sake." In like manner he defined Redemption to be, "that supreme love which is enkindled in us by Christ's passion, a love which not only delivers us from the bondage of sin, but acquires for us the true freedom of God's children." To which Bernard justly replied: "Did Christ then merely *teach* righteousness; did He not also *bestow* it? Did He *exhibit* love only; did He not also *infuse* it? . . . Who denies that other ways of redemption, justification, and deliverance were possible to the Almighty? But this can make nothing against the way and method which He has chosen. We cannot fathom the holy will of God, but we can feel the effect of the work, we can be sensible of its benefit. Why did He accomplish that by the blood of Christ which He might have accomplished by a word? Ask Himself. It is vouchsafed to me to know that the fact is so, but not why it is so. Shall the creature say to the Creator, 'Why hast Thou formed me thus?' . . . It was not the death of Christ, *in itself*, but his will in freely offering Himself, that was acceptable to God; and because this precious death, procuring the downfall of sin, could only be brought about by sin,

God had not therefore pleasure in the sin, but used it for good. God did not require the death of his Son, but accepted it when offered; He did not thirst for blood, but for man's salvation."[1] A.D. 1121-1140.

Abelard would test revelation by reason; he defines faith to be merely "an opinion[2] concerning that which does not yet appear." Bernard replies: "He professes to explain all things by reason, even those which lie beyond the limits of reason; he thus fights both against faith and reason, for what is more contrary to reason than through reason to seek to soar above reason? And what is more contrary to faith than to refuse our belief to that which we cannot attain by reason. . . . Far be it from us to leave aught belonging either to our faith or our hope in an *empty opinion*, so as to be removed from the sure and steadfast foundation of truth;—truth confirmed by God through prophecies and miracles, established and sanctified by the Offspring of the Virgin, the blood of the Redeemer, the glory of the Resurrection. With which outward certainty we connect the inward: 'The Spirit Himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God.' . . . I behold three several objects in the work of redemption—the example of humility, God emptying Himself; the measure of love extending even to death, the death on the cross; the mystery of redemption,

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[1] Neander, *Church Hist.*, viii. pp. 206–211.

[2] Æstimatio.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

whereby death itself is annihilated. . . . It is one thing to follow Jesus, it is another to cleave to Him through love,—it is another still to feed upon his flesh and blood. To follow Him is a wholesome resolve; to cling to and embrace Him is a noble joy; to feed upon Him is a holy life, for He is that bread of life which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life to the world, and what is resolve or joy without life?"[1]

Between two such champions, both zealous and both confident, it was scarcely possible that a personal encounter should long be deferred. Bernard drew up an appeal to the pope, cardinals, princes and bishops to repress the arch-heretic, whom he designated as Arius, Nestorius, Pelagius all in one, and scattered it broadcast over Europe. Abelard to protect himself persuaded the archbishop of Sens, whom Bernard had offended, and who was about to preside over a numerous synod (A.D. 1140), to summon Bernard to attend, and at the same time gave out that he was going to meet the great abbot of Clairvaux in logical combat. At first Bernard hesitated: "When all fly before his face, he selects me, the least of all, for his antagonist." But when he found that Abelard's disciples asserted that he did not dare to meet their master, he accepted the challenge. "I declined," he says, "partly because I was but a youth and he a man

[1] Neander, *St. Bernard*, pp. 157–162 Bernard, Epist. cxc., *Opera*, 1575, pp. 247–250.

of war from his youth, partly because I hold it unmeet to submit matters of faith which are grounded on the sure and steadfast truth to the subtleties of human argumentation. . . . Finally I yielded, not without great reluctance and many tears, to the counsel of my friends, and came to the appointed place at the appointed time, unprepared except with those words of Scripture: 'Take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak;' and, 'The Lord is my helper; I will not fear; what shall man do unto me?'"[1] A.D. 1140.

The original object of the meeting at Sens was an exhibition of relics, and as the occasion was intended to be a very solemn one, the king, Louis VII., was present with a crowd of bishops, abbots and nobles. Abelard came with a troop of disciples: Bernard with two or three of his monks. The synod was held in the church of St. Stephen. The question of Abelard's heresies came up on the second day. Abelard entered, and walked up through the midst of the assembly, for the most part inimical to him. As he passed one of his fellow-schoolmen he whispered the proverb, "When thy neighbour's house is burning, thine too is in danger." Bernard stood in a pulpit, holding before him Abelard's book, from which he caused to be read aloud the passages he had

[1] Matt. x. 19; Heb. xiii. 6; Morison, pp. 309–311; Neander, *St. Bernard*, pp. 152–154.

marked for reproof, condemnation or explanation. But the reading had hardly begun, when to the amazement of all Abelard rose, refused to hear more or to answer any questions, and saying he appealed to Rome abruptly left the assembly. The synod however continued its sitting, and did not suffer his heretical opinions to go uncondemned. They were read and re-read, and "proved," say the bishops in their letter to the pope, "to be not only false, but plainly heretical, both by most evident reasons, and also by testimonies from Augustine and others of the Fathers, brought forward by the abbot of Clairvaux."[1]

Abelard proceeded towards Rome with the intention of personally pressing his appeal. Passing through Burgundy, he put up at Cluny. Peter the Venerable received him with a guileless charity. Abelard's heresies were as hateful to him as to any one, but with him charity was above everything. He wrote to the pope:—"Master Peter (Abelard), as he lately came from France,[2] came to Cluny. He told me that, being oppressed by the attacks of certain persons who had branded him with the name of heretic, which he detested, he had appealed to Rome and was going thither for protection. I exhorted him to seek Bernard, in company with the abbot of Cîteaux, and to re-

[1] Morison, pp. 311–314.

[2] Burgundy was not at this time part of France, but was ruled by its own sovereign duke.

move and expunge from his books whatsoever he had written offensive to Catholic ears. They went together to Clairvaux, and Peter told us how he met Bernard, and that the old animosities between them were removed. Urged by me, he has chosen for himself a dwelling-place in Cluny, where I beseech thee to permit him to end his days, which perchance will not be many." Abelard did not in fact long survive. On his death in 1142 the abbot of Cluny wrote to Abelard's friend, Heloise: "A long letter would be insufficient to unfold the humility and devotion of Master Peter's behaviour. He was sparing in his food and dress, and all that related to his body; he read continually; he prayed often; he was always silent, unless the conversation of the monks, or a public discourse in the convent, drew him out of himself. Having become more infirm, I sent him to Châlons, because of the softness of the climate. There, so far as his malady would permit, he suffered not a moment to pass in which he did not either pray, read, write or dictate; and so the divine visitor found him, not like many slumbering, but on the watch." [1]

A.D. 1140-1142.

Section IV. Two years before he died, Bernard wrote a long letter to one of his disciples of the same name with himself upon his elevation to the papal chair under the title of Eugenius III.

[1] Id., pp. 319, 321.

Per. IV. Chap. 4.

It was in effect a diatribe on the corruptions of Rome, and is a monument of his honesty and fearlessness. In reading it we are reminded of the language of Cyprian when he took a survey of heathendom, and of Salvian when he probed the festering sores of that degenerate Christianity which had taken its place.[1] Rome in fact had never changed, but pagan or Christian had always shown herself ambitious, mercenary, carnal. "The grasping, the simoniacal, the sacrilegious, the adulterous, the incestuous and all such like monsters of humanity," writes Bernard, "flock to Rome, in order either to obtain or to keep ecclesiastical honours at the hands of the pope. . . . Whom," he asks of Eugenius, "canst thou mention in that vast city, who received thee as pope without the intervention of a reward or the hope of one? For the future thou wilt have no plan from which they will consider thou hast a right to exclude them, no secret into which they will not thrust themselves; and if thy porter were to cause only a little delay to any one of them at thy doorway, I should not like to be in that porter's place. . . . They are cunning to do evil, but how to do good they know not. They are hateful to heaven and earth, on both of which they have laid violent hands; impious they are towards God, seditious and envious among themselves, cruel towards strangers;

[1] See *Early Church History*, pp. 9–13; and see *ante*, vol. i. pp. 415–417.

loving no man, they are loved of none. They cannot endure subjection, yet are incapable of ruling; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their inferiors. They are shameless in asking favours, truculent in refusing them, importunate to receive, restless till they do receive, ungrateful when they have received. They are great promisers, but scanty performers; most subtle flatterers and most biting detractors; natural dissemblers and malicious traitors. Among such men, thou, their pastor, movest about in gold and gorgeous apparel. . . . We nowhere read that Peter went about adorned with precious stones and decked with gold and silks; nor mounted on a milk-white horse and surrounded with guards, nor attended by swarms of servants: herein thou art a follower, not of the apostle Peter, but of the Emperor Constantine.[1] . . . What do the sheep get of all this? If I might speak out, it is demons, rather than sheep, which graze in these pastures. . . . Is it not unbecoming in thee to have no law but thy own will, and because there is no tribunal before which thou canst be called, to exert thy power and despise reason? Art thou greater than thy Lord who said, 'I came not to do mine own will'?"[2] A.D. 1151.

[1] In respect of this pomp he adds, "I counsel thee to submit to it from regard to the customs of the times, but not to seek it as a thing becoming or due to thee."—Neander, p. 302.

[2] Morison, pp. 423–428; Neander, pp. 301, 302. A contemporary of Bernard uses language if possible even stronger: "Turn to the citizens of Babylon (Rome) and observe what manner of people they be, and in

But the end was drawing nigh. Bernard could no longer take solid food; even liquids gave him pain; and sleep forsook his couch. Yet his spirit remained indomitable. As he lay on his bed of sickness, the archbishop of Trèves came to him in great trouble. "A ferocious contest was raging between the burghers of Metz and the nobles of the country. The former had supposed that they were strong enough to withstand their knightly oppressors, and had ventured on a conflict, in which the citizens were cut to pieces. Exasperated by their defeat, they made immense preparations for another struggle. The nobles on their side did the same, and an exterminating contest seemed about to devastate the country." Bernard roused himself from his bed, and went with the archbishop to the banks of the Moselle, which were lined with the contending factions. Elated by their recent victory, the warlike nobles would listen to no terms, and even refused to hearken to Bernard's remonstrances, not from any want of respect for him, but from a fear lest he should influence them and their followers even against their will. They broke up their camp and hastily retired. Bernard

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what ways they walk. Come hither to the top of the mountain that thou mayst behold all the habitations of the damned city. Look on her princes and judges, cardinals and archbishops, the very seat of the Beast. Every day they are intent on doing evil, insatiably occupied with works of iniquity. They offer things sacred for sale; they purchase iniquity, and labour with all their might that they may not descend alone to hell."—Honorius, presbyter of Autun; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 164.

bid the archbishop be of good cheer, for all would be well. "During the night," he said, "I had a vision. I thought I was celebrating a solemn mass. Just before the conclusion of the first prayer, I remembered that the *Gloria in excelsis* ought to have preceded it. Commencing therefore the canticle which I had omitted, I sang it to the end with you all." The next night came a message from the hostile nobles offering terms of agreement. "Behold," exclaimed Bernard, "the prelude to the song we shall so soon sing, 'Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace to men.'" The negotiations were difficult, and occupied many days, but Bernard's patience was unwearied and his faith unfailing, and at length he had the joy of seeing the leaders of the two parties give each other the right hand of fellowship and the kiss of peace.[1] A.D. 1153.

On his return home Bernard sank into a condition of extreme weakness. A little while before his death he dictated these words: "Pray to the Saviour, who willeth not the death of a sinner, that He do not delay my departure, and yet that He will be pleased to keep guard over it. By your prayers sustain him who has no merits of his own, that the enemy of our salvation may find no place open to his attacks." Looking round on his weeping brethren, "We beseech you," he said, "and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as ye have

[1] Morison, pp. 430, 431; Neander, pp. 309, 310.

received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more, for this is the will of God, even your sanctification. I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better: nevertheless the love of my children urges me to remain here."[1] These were his last words.[2] He died in 1153, at the age of sixty-three years.

From Augustine to Luther the Church records no name so illustrious as that of Bernard. What has been already related of him portrays the leading features of his character. One word more as to his humility. Strangely transported as he sometimes was with sacerdotal pride, it was nevertheless one of his chief cares to cultivate a humble spirit. "He often told us," writes his secretary, "that when he was in the midst of honours and flattering attentions he seemed to lose his personality; he imagined himself as absent, and all that was going on before him as a dream. But when he conversed with the simple-minded of his monks he rejoiced to find himself again, and to be as it were in his own person. He often declared that he never spoke in any company, however humble, without a feeling of awe coming over him; he would have preferred to be silent had he not been moved by the pricks of conscience, the fear of God,

[1] 1 Thessalonians iv. 1, 3; Phil. i. 23.

[2] Neander, pp. 310, 311, and note.

and brotherly love." This testimony is confirmed by all his friends and disciples.[1] A.D. 1153.

Luther calls him "a man so godly, holy, and chaste, that he is to be commended and preferred before all the Fathers. Being grievously sick," he adds, "and having no hope of recovery, he put not his trust in his life of singleness, wherein he had lived most chastely, nor in his good works and deeds of charity, whereof he had done many; but removing them far out of his sight, and receiving the benefit of Christ by faith, he said, 'I have lived wickedly; but Thou Lord Jesus dost possess the kingdom of heaven by double right: first, because Thou art the Son of God; secondly, because Thou hast purchased it by thy death and passion. The first Thou keepest for thyself as thy birthright; the second Thou givest to me, not by the right of my works, but by the right of thy grace.'"[2]

In person Bernard was rather above the middle height and exceedingly spare, his whole body, to use the words of the monkish chronicler, "being most delicate and without flesh." He was of a clear and sanguine complexion, with a beard slightly inclining to red. His countenance was serene and heavenly, and an expression of "angelical purity and dove-like simplicity" beamed in his eyes, which are scarcely ever spoken of by his

[1] Morison, pp. 401, 402.

[2] Neander, p. 313, note by Translator.

contemporaries without the addition of the epithet *columbinus*.[1]

Before Bernard had been dead many years, the abbey was rebuilt in a magnificent style, and the abbot and monks, forgetful of his prayers and tears and the example of his dedicated life, turned aside into that course of wealth and ease which he had so strenuously censured in Cluny. Instead of a plain house arose a palace, of which the dormitories, refectory, chapter-house and library were finished in the most richly decorated style, and adorned with statues of Bernard and his fellow-monks. In process of time the abbot was raised to the rank of a bishop, having under his rule in France eighteen abbeys, twenty-eight nunneries, and forty-one abbeys commendatory, besides forty in foreign countries. His annual income was 90,000 francs, besides 1072 quarters of wheat and 700 hogsheads of wine, and the tolls of forges and forests, with other perquisites. By way of recreation from the fatigues of office he possessed a superb country-house half a league from the monastery, with a chapel carved and gilded and a choice gallery of pictures.[2]

The Reformation period brought no material

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[1] Id., p. 311, note. The well-known hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden," was not written by Bernard, but by a contemporary of the same name, a monk of Cluny under Peter the Venerable. This Bernard was born of English parents at Morlaix in Brittany.—Neale's *Rhythm of Bernard de Morlaix*, Preface.

[2] Neander, Translator's Preface, pp. xiii, xiv.

change to the monastic orders in Catholic countries, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century they had become so corrupt that a general reform was resolved on by the pope. To this the abbot and monks of Clairvaux offered a stout resistance, and enlisted the powerful Richelieu upon their side; and when disgusted by their irregularities he gave them over to the papal commissioners, as a last expedient they persuaded their Cistercian brethren to join them in electing Richelieu himself general of the order. Richelieu accepted the dignity, still insisting on reform, but before his measures were ripe he died, A.D. 1642. No reform was effected; the old abuses continued and new enormities were perpetrated, until the abbey fell to pieces by the weight of its own corruption. When, in 1793, the Revolution like a whirlwind overthrew everything that bore the semblance of religion, there were but forty-five monks left to be expelled from the once saintly, powerful and populous convent of Clairvaux.[1] XII.-XIX.Cent.

The abbey was confiscated,[2] and some time afterwards converted into a *Dépôt de Mendicité.* Some years ago it was re-constructed as a prison or House of Industry for the reformation of criminals: from 1400 to 2000 convicts are usually here confined. The prison itself is surrounded by an

[1] Ibid., pp. xiv–xvi.

[2] The books and manuscripts were taken to Troyes, and are now in the city library. Amongst the latter is Bernard's Bible, written about the time of his birth, with marginal notes probably by his own hand.

inner wall, beyond which is another nearly three miles in extent, enclosing the buildings of the administration, barracks, orchards, gardens and corn-fields. The prisoners are employed in manufactures of various kinds, the products of their labour being sold to the trade at a low price.[1] On the nearest hill is a colossal statue of Bernard, stretching out his hands over the valley. From his feet you look down into the nearer courts of the prison; and when you are weary of meditating on the busy hive of malefactors, pursuing their silent and compulsory tasks, you may in imagination substitute for it the abbey, such as it was in the time of the great monk. Then too the valley was full of labourers, but they were drawn from the noble and the free; their labour was equally arduous, but it was the labour of Christian love; there reigned over them a stillness as profound, but it was the stillness of religious devotion. Bernard and his monks missed, as we believe, the plain and simple pathway of Christian service, yet we must never forget that the ground and aim of their life was God's commands, Christ's love, and man's salvation.

[1] For a description of the prison in its present state, see Prince Krapotkin's article on French prisons in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1886. The prince was immured there; a few political offenders are usually among the inmates.

CHAPTER V.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages (*concluded*). —Crowland, St. Edmundsbury.

Section I. We have seen something of the monastic life of Saxon England at Lindisfarne, Monkwearmouth, and Jarrow. Many other monasteries of historical note were founded before the Norman Conquest; amongst which a group in the Fen country—Ely, Peterborough and Crowland—are especially to be distinguished. They were within thirty miles of each other, were all founded about the same time, in the sixth or seventh century, and were all destroyed in that hurricane of the Danes which likewise overthrew Monkwearmouth, Jarrow and Lindisfarne. Few trustworthy annals, like those of St. Gall, remain of their earlier years, but the origin of one of them, Crowland, is related in detail by several ancient writers, forming a curious and characteristic narrative. VII. Cent.

At the end of the seventh century there was in Mercia a young nobleman of the name of Guthlac. "His earliest manhood was fired with the ambition of rivalling the heroes of ancient story; and taking up the profession of arms, he collected a band of followers, at the head of whom," says one of his

biographers, "he wreaked his grudges on his enemies, burned their city, ravaged their towns, and wildly through the land made much slaughter and took from men their goods. At the same time," he adds, "by a divine admonition, he restored to the vanquished one-third of the spoil." After several years thus spent a sudden change came over him and he resolved to devote the rest of his days to religion. "Having signed himself with the cross, he bade adieu to his comrades and repaired to the monastery of Repton,[1] over which the abbess Elfrida presided.[2] He was then twenty-four, and is described as 'tall and handsome, modest, patient, wise, chaste, and with divine love burning in his soul.' In two years he had learnt by heart the Psalms, Canticles, Hymns and Prayers." The lives of the ancient hermits, which were recited in the monastery, infused into his spirit an ardent desire to tread in their steps.[3] His career of martial glory had closed; but in its stead there had opened one of a higher kind, the hope of victory over his own nature and the evil spirits; and yet these two courses were not utterly dissimilar, for both promised strange adventures, deadly perils, and ultimate honour.

There being within reach no desert of sand or rock as in Egypt, Guthlac betook himself to the

[1] In Derbyshire, on the Trent; a residence of the Mercian kings.

[2] For these double monasteries, see *ante*, p. 178, and note.

[3] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. Guthlac, St., ii. pp. 823, 824.

region of his own country which most nearly re- VII. Cent.
sembled it, the Fens of Lincolnshire. At Grantchester near Cambridge he met with a man named Tatwine, who told him of a desolate island known to but very few persons, called Crowland, whither Tatwine offered to be his guide. Taking a little fishing-skiff they threaded the labyrinth, now crossing black pools of water, now following foul running streams with manifold windings, interrupted by islands, reeds, hillocks and thickets. Arrived at Crowland they surveyed the spot, and then Guthlac went back to take final leave of Repton. On his return he brought with him two youths as servants. They made their dwelling in a cistern-like hollow, upon the slope of a hillock, probably an ancient British barrow. Guthlac "clothed himself with skins, and at sunset he took his single daily meal of barley bread and water. . . . The worst hardships of his lot were those horrors which solitaries everywhere have experienced, temptations, the consciousness of sin, and an imagination haunted by demons. His fame more particularly rested on his conflict with demon-powers, which caused him to be represented in mediæval art wielding a scourge with a dragon or evil spirit at his feet." The nights thus spent were sometimes followed by visions of celestial glory. "The second year," he says, "in which I dwelt in this wilderness, God Himself, at even and at daybreak sent his angel of comfort, who opened

Per. IV. Chap. 5.

to me the heavenly mysteries which it is not lawful for man to tell, and softened with angelic discourses the hardness of my conflict." Guthlac was joined by a few others besides Tatwine, and from the cluster of huts thus formed a monastery rose up. The people of the Fen flocked to him to be instructed, and not these only, but "men of diverse conditions, nobles, bishops, abbots, poor, rich, from Mercia and all Britain." [1]

The island had one only entrance from the river (the Welland), and a signal brought Guthlac down to receive his visitors. Amongst these came the bishop of Lichfield, and with him a learned man named Wigfrith, who had his doubts whether Guthlac was a true man of God or a pretender. Guthlac however showed himself mighty in the Scriptures, and the bishop persuaded him to accept ordination at his hands. Another visitor was the abbot Wilfrid, a venerable brother, with whom Guthlac conversed on Holy Scripture, and who brought with him an exiled prince, Ethelbald, rightful heir to the throne of Mercia. Ethelbald found at Crowland both safety and sympathy, and Guthlac is said even to have predicted that he should one day recover the kingdom. When Ethelbald came to the throne, one of his first acts was to rebuild, in a substantial manner, the monastic dwelling at Crowland. "Earth was

[1] Ibid., pp. 824, 825.

brought in boats to form a site; the buildings rested on oaken piles driven into the marsh; a great stone church replaced the hermit's cell; and the toil of the new brotherhood changed the pools around them into fertile meadow-land." Before Guthlac died, another abbess of Repton sent him a leaden sarcophagus and a linen winding-sheet. His death took place in 714. In the neighbourhood, but not on the island, his sister Pega dwelt alone in her cell. When she settled near him, he declined, in the spirit of the old hermits, "to see her face again until they should meet in heaven; and her first visit to Crowland was after his death, when she came as he had requested to place his corpse in the sarcophagus." [1] VIII.-IX. Cent.

There is a circumstantial account of the fortunes of the abbey from the time of Guthlac till the reign of William Rufus, purporting to be written by the abbot Ingulphus. It is a charming story, and has been read with delight by many generations of Englishmen. It is there related how when Earl Algar marched out to meet the Danes (A.D. 870), 200 stout men from Crowland joined him, of whom however only a handful returned to bring tidings of the terrible defeat sustained by the earl's army. At the approach of the Danes the abbot sent the monks away to a covert in the fens, with a boatload of treasures, the abbey charters, Guthlac's

[1] Ibid., pp. 825, 826; Green, *History of the English People*, i. p. 61.

Per. IV. Chap. 5.

body, and his famous scourge and psalter. Then with the officers, the aged men and a few children, he manfully prepared himself for sacrifice. Before they had finished high mass, the Danes burst in upon them, and with pagan fury slew them all to a man, except a beautiful child named Turgar, the sight of whom moved the young Danish earl Sidroc to pity. Stripping off the boy's cowl, he threw over him a long Danish tunic, and ordered him to keep close to his side. Then they broke open the marble tombs of the abbots and saints, and finding no treasure, piled all the bodies in a heap and set fire to them, and with them to the church and all the buildings of the monastery. From Crowland the merciless band passed on to Medeshamstead (now Peterborough), where they met with a stout resistance, and one of the Danish earls was wounded almost to death. His brother in revenge slew with his own hand every man in monkish attire, whilst his companions despatched the rest. The altars were broken down, the books burned, the charters torn to shreds, the relics trodden under foot, the walls overthrown, and the church itself burned to the ground. As the Danes with a great store of booty moved on towards Huntingdon, the little Turgar, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the fall of two carriages laden with spoil into the River Nene, made his escape into a wood, and walking all night arrived by daybreak at Crowland.

The abbey, we are told, remained a ruin until the reign of Edred,[1] when the old soldier and chancellor Turketul halted there on his way to York, and found three very aged monks still patiently performing their daily ceremonial, the youngest being the child Turgar. The sight of them and of the desolate sanctuary stirred the brave man's heart, and he could talk of nothing else the rest of his journey, even to strangers whom he met on the way. On his return to London he gave up his secular life, prevailed on the king to release him from his offices, and hastened back to Crowland, where he put the three monks into a carriage, and with them explored every corner of the island. Soon afterwards he rebuilt and endowed the monastery. The chronicler describes the new buildings, the order and increase of the house, with every particular down to the figs, raisins, walnuts and apples which Turketul, when he went daily to visit the school, took with him as rewards for the most diligent scholars. With equal minuteness and with much pathos, he describes also the destruction by fire in 1091 of the greater part of the conventual fabric with the archives, library, service-books, and the curious astronomical table, "the like of which was not known in England," and which had been given to Turketul by the king of France.

IX.-XI Cent.

[1] A.D. 946-955.

All this and much more is found in Ingulphus' narrative, and had until recent years been accepted as genuine history. But as soon as the story began to be placed under the microscope of criticism, it was found to be full of anachronisms, contradictions and improbable and even impossible statements. The historical notices are unsupported by and often entirely at variance with contemporary authorities; chronology is ignored; the character and language of the charters, laws and customs, contained or referred to in it, belong not to Saxon or Norman times, but to the fifteenth century.[1] How much foundation this ingenious novelist had for his romantic story cannot now be determined; he must, one would suppose, have met with some waifs of earlier days floating down the stream of time.

The abbey of Medeshamstead was founded about A.D. 650 by Peada, son of Penda King of Mercia. After its destruction by the Danes the site remained desolate for a century, when the abbey was rebuilt, and the name changed to Burgh (otherwise Gilden-burgh, from its wealth), or Peter-burgh, from the apostle to whom it was dedicated. Ely owed its origin to Etheldreda, daughter of the king of East Anglia, who retired hither about the year 673, and became abbess of

[1] See Sir F. Palgrave's article in the *Quarterly Review*, Sept. 1826, p. 182; and two papers by H. T. Riley in the *Archæological Journal*, March and Sept. 1862.

the convent. Involved in the same destruction as Medeshamstead and Crowland, it was restored at the same time as the former (A.D. 970), by Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester.[1] VII.–XI. Cent.

The fen country was the last refuge of Saxon independence, under the leadership of Hereward. Peterborough however soon made terms with the Conqueror, and in consequence Hereward "and his gang," with their Danish allies and a rabble eager for plunder, made an attack on that minster. They broke into the church, pillaged it of its treasures, shrines, roods, books, vestments, the pastoral staff and coin, all which they conveyed in ships to Ely. Then they set fire to the place; the church, the houses of the monks and the whole town were consumed, save only one house; and all the monks dispersed except one sick man in the infirmary.[2]

But Ely, less within William's reach, was the last stronghold of the patriots. The monks rivalled the men-at-arms in the resistance they offered to the royal powers; warriors and monks sat side by side in the refectory, and the walls and roof were hung with weapons of war. The convent seems at length however to have become weary of the hopeless struggle, and when the king seized on its outlying lands the abbot and monks made a treacherous surrender. In the early part of the twelfth

[1] Dugdale's *Monasticon; Penny Cyclop.*, art. Peterborough.

[2] Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, iv. pp. 458, 459.

Per. IV. Chap. 5.

century the abbey was advanced to an episcopal see.[1]

That part of England which boasts these three venerable monuments of its earlier religious life is a dead level. The eye, it is true, does not now rest upon noisome marshes, black pools, or impenetrable thickets, but on the more grateful prospect of broad meadows, waving corn-fields, thriving homesteads, and water-courses, straight as an arrow and apparently interminable. But the landscape is monotonous, not to say dreary; trees are scarce, farms few, and travellers rare on the highways, which are seldom varied by a turn. This applies especially to Crowland; and most welcome it is when the remains of the venerable abbey-church meet the traveller's gaze,[2] and the memories and sentiments they awaken crowd upon the mind. From its top the stately cathedrals which have replaced the two sister houses are to be seen; the noble towers of Peterborough showing fair a little to the west of south, and the beautiful lantern of Ely just visible on the south-eastern horizon.[3]

Section II. The great calamity which in the

[1] Id., pp. 468, 474.

[2] The oldest part of these beautiful remains is the ruined nave, dating from the twelfth century; as at Lindisfarne, there is a solitary round arch yet standing.

[3] Peterborough is twelve miles and Ely thirty from Crowland. This quaint little town is of earlier date than that of Cluny (see *ante*, p. 327), but being built of brick, it has been less enduring; none of the existing houses appear to be older than the reign of Elizabeth.

memorable year 870 overthrew the three abbeys of the fens, occasioned the rise of another Saxon monastery of equal fame at no great distance from them. On their way from the coast the Danes overran East Anglia, and took prisoner its king Edmund. Bound to a tree, the unhappy prince was first beaten with clubs, and afterwards used as a mark for arrows. His head was then severed from his body, and both cast into a wood, where they were found by his subjects, and on being removed, became it is said miraculously reunited. The corpse[1] was buried in a wooden chapel near Thetford, which soon became the scene of supernatural cures, and after a time (903) the saint's body, which was found to be uncorrupted (!), was transported to the town called after him, BURY ST. EDMUNDS. A monastery rose over the shrine, and in the reign of Canute, 1016–1035, took its place amongst the chief religious houses in the kingdom. The belief that the saint's body continued incorruptible, and that he himself was therefore always personally present, invested the abbey with a peculiar sanctity. In the times of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror the fame of the spot drew down a shower of royal favours and papal exemptions.[2]

IX.–XI. Cent.

In the reign of Henry II. one of the monks,

[1] There is not the slightest doubt but that this body was a supposititious corpse, and perhaps not the *first*.—Jocelin, note by the Editor, p. 47.

[2] Tomlins, *Introduction* to Jocelin of Brakelond, pp. vii–ix.

Per. IV. Chap. 5.

Jocelin of Brakelond, wrote a detailed chronicle of the abbey, which, like the annals of St. Gall, forms a mirror of the age.[1] We see here, as in the history of the Swiss monastery, that instead of being a retreat from the haunts of men, the cloister came to be the very focus of social, commercial, political and even martial life, and that the abbot was overwhelmed with the burden of secular business. We see also that the round of ceremonial observances, watching, prayers, chanting, processions, penance, the mass, failed to lead those who performed them to the Saviour. So entirely was the Lord forgotten, so entirely was his place usurped by the patron saint, that the name of Christ is never once mentioned by the chronicler; it is always, God and St. Edmund, or, the abbot and St. Edmund.[2]

When our annalist first took up his pen the monastery was in a state of confusion. The abbot Hugh, an easy elderly gentleman, kept up the religious routine and a decent outside appearance, but allowed the fine estate in his hands to go to decay, and winked at the abuses carried on under his eyes. He and his monks could devise no better method of keeping themselves above water than borrowing both of Jews and Christians at a high rate of usury.[3] Every one, as Jocelin tells us, did that

[1] This chronicle, written in Latin, remained in manuscript in the British Museum until half a century ago, when it was printed by the Camden Society, and translated by T. E. Tomlins, with an introduction and notes.

[2] Tomlins, p. viii. [3] Id., p. ix.

which was right in his own eyes; every official of the house had a seal of his own, with which the debt-bonds were sealed, besides that which hung at the shrine of the martyr. The debts thus incurred grew by compound interest to an enormous sum. William the sacrist, to meet the cost of some repairs, privily borrowed 40 marks (about £27) of Benedict the Jew of Norwich. The debt having increased to £100, the Jew eager for his money, complained to King Henry II., who issued a "precept" to his almoner to compel payment. The monastery however was still a first-rate security, and the Jew seems to have been willing to wait in the expectation of further gains, until at the end of four years the amount had more than doubled itself, and at last with fresh debts amounted to £1200, besides interest. At the same time many other large sums were owing. These scandalous transactions coming to the ears of the king, he sent down his almoner to call the brotherhood to account. The abbot assembled his monks in the chapter-house, and addressed them: "Look ye, here is the king's almoner who, moved by the pure love of God and St. Edmund, tells us the king has heard that our affairs are misgoverned; I desire and command therefore that you state openly to him how things really stand." Whereupon the prior arose, and with the greatest effrontery declared that matters both indoors and out were orderly and discreetly conducted, save in- XII. Cent.

Per. IV. Chap. 5.

deed some small sums in which the monastery was, like its neighbours, indebted, but which were not sufficient to cause any embarrassment. The almoner replied that he rejoiced to hear this testimony, and so the matter ended. Whether any, and how large a bribe was required to silence either almoner or king, is not told us. Our chronicler relates that a similar transaction had happened when he was a novice, and he then applied to his friend Master Sampson, afterwards abbot, for an explanation. "How," he asked, "canst thou hold thy tongue when such things take place, thou who art a cloistered monk, not caring for office and fearing God more than man?" Sampson answered: "My son, the newly-burnt child dreads the fire. Hugh the prior, Dennis, and Roger of Hingham, have but lately returned from exile; I too was put in prison, and afterwards banished to Acre, because we spoke for the good of our Church in opposition to the abbot. This is the hour of darkness, when flatterers rule and are believed. For a time these things must be borne with."[1]

In 1180 the abbot resolved to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket, then the fashionable place of devotional resort in England.[2] When nearing Rochester he fell from his horse

[1] Jocelin, pp. 1, 2.

[2] Becket had been dead ten years, and Canterbury had by this time become a little Rome. Two large volumes, says a chronicler, were filled with accounts of the miracles wrought at his tomb. The offerings which

and received such severe injuries that he had A.D. 1180
to be carried home on a litter, and after an illness of two months expired. Before the breath was out of his body, his servants took away everything from his chamber, except the stools and tables; "not a pennyworth was left," says Jocelin, "to be distributed among the poor for the good of his soul. Luckily however," he adds, "the farmer at Palegrave who entered on his farm that same day paid in fifty shillings; but these very shillings had afterwards to be given up to the king's bailiffs, who demanded the whole farm-rent for the king's use." [1]

The choice of a new abbot was a matter of grave moment. As in the German Empire, the election lay with the convent but subject to the approval of the Monarch who seems to have exercised somewhat more of control than his Imperial brother. The monks were much divided in their choice. Their best man was without doubt Sampson, but he was only sub-sacrist, and many were loth to pass by his superiors in office. Frequent were the

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used to be made to the Saviour and the Virgin were by degrees transferred to the tomb of St. Thomas, until one year the annual amounts came to be as under:—

	£	s.	d.
Christ's Altar	0	0	0
Virgin Mary's	4	1	8
Becket's	954	6	3

—Elliott, *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, ii. p. 18, note.

"At a jubilee, when plenary indulgence was to be obtained by all who visited the tomb, 100,000 pilgrims are known to have been present; and at this day it may be seen how their knees have worn the marble steps."—Southey, *Book of the Church*, i. p. 257.

[1] Jocelin, p. 3.

consultations amongst the brethren, with prayers thrice a week, and dreams. The chronicler tells us he saw Sampson as he sat along with the rest, quietly chuckling and noting the words of every one, some of which words he recalled twenty years afterwards. At Sampson's proposal a committee of two seniors and four juniors was appointed, who should privately agree upon three names. This committee, of whom Hugh the third prior was one, made their selection accordingly and sealed up the paper. A delegation of the head prior and twelve brethren was at the same time nominated to go before the king, who then lay at Bishops Waltham in Hampshire, the manor of the bishop of Winchester. During the journey Sampson, who was purveyor to the company, rode in the rear as though he were servant of all, wearing his frock looped under his elbows, and carrying about his neck a little box containing the letters of the convent. Intent already on the correction of abuses, he proposed on the way that they should all take an oath to enter upon a new course, and appropriate to hospitality the revenues of the churches belonging to the monastery. All agreed except the prior, who said: "We have sworn enough already; ye are all so able to restrict the abbot that is to be, that I shall not care to obtain the abbacy." So there was no swearing, which, the chronicler says, was well, for the oath would not have been kept.[1]

[1] Id., pp. 4–6.

Henry II. received them graciously, and commanded through his prolocutors, the bishop of Winchester and Geoffrey the chancellor, that they should nominate three of the brethren for his choice. Retiring, as if to confer thereupon, they drew forth the sealed writing, and when they had opened it found these names written in the following order:—Sampson, sub-sacrist; Roger, steward; Hugh, third prior. At this the brethren who were of higher standing were "flushed;" they marvelled also that Hugh should be at once elector and elected. But inasmuch as they could not alter what was done, they contented themselves with changing the order of the names, placing Hugh first and Sampson last. The king inquired whether the three who were named were born in his realm, and to what lordship they belonged, and directed that as he was not personally acquainted with any of them, three others should also be named. Whereupon William the sacrist said, "Our prior ought to be nominated, because he is our head;" the prior said, "William the sacrist is a good man;" and the like being said of another, Dennis, these three additional names were presented to the king. Henry marvelled at their readiness, and said, "The men have been quick about it; God has been with them." Next he commanded that for the honour of his kingdom they should name also three persons of other houses. To this they con- A.D. 1180.

Per. IV. Chap. 5.

sented on condition that they should not be required to receive any one of these three, except with the concurrence of the convent at home: so they named three. Whereupon the king gave thanks, and directed them to strike off three from the nine. Accordingly they struck off the three aliens; and at the same time William the sacrist retired of his own will. Two more names were withdrawn, and then one, until there remained only the head-prior and Sampson.[1]

To determine the choice between these two the king directed his prolocutors to confer with the brethren. Dennis was spokesman for the delegation. He commended both the candidates as learned and good men, "but always in the corner of his discourse enlarged upon Sampson," whom he described as strict in life, severe in reforming excesses, fit to encounter troubles, heedful in secular matters, and approved in various offices. The bishop of Winchester replied: "We see what you wish to say; your prior seems to you to have been somewhat remiss, and, in fact, you wish to have him who is called Sampson." Dennis answered: "Either of them is good, but by God's help we desire to have the best." To whom the bishop, "Of two fit men the most perfect should be chosen; speak out at once, is it your wish to have Sampson?" It was distinctly answered by

[1] Id., pp. 6, 7.

the major part, "We wish to have Sampson;" no one gainsaid, but some studiously held their peace, being fearful of offending either one or the other. Accordingly Sampson's name was taken to the king, who after a brief consultation with those about him, ordered the brethren to be called in, to whom he said, "Ye present to me Sampson—I know him not; had ye presented to me your prior I should have accepted him, because I am well acquainted with him: but now I will do as ye desire me. Take heed to yourselves, by the very eyes of God, if ye act unworthily, I shall call you to severe account." He then inquired of the prior whether he assented to the choice, who replied that he was well contented, for that Sampson was much more worthy than himself of the dignity. Upon this Sampson fell down at the king's feet, kissed him, rose again hastily, and with erect gait and unmoved countenance went towards the altar, singing "*Miserere mei Domine*," followed by the brethren. The king observing him said to the by-standers: "By the eyes of God he that is chosen seems to himself worthy of keeping the abbacy."[1] A.D. 1180.

Without loss of time, and with a vigorous hand, the new abbot set himself to the correction of abuses and the redress of grievances. He judged it beneath him to ask counsel of others, but "relied

[1] Id., p. 7.

Per. IV. Chap. 5.

entirely on God's providence and his own understanding." When in accordance with the charter, a steward was presented to him, he accepted him, but said privately, "By God's help, I trust I shall be my own steward." Jewish and Christian creditors of the abbey buzzed continually about him, worrying him until his sleep departed and he became pale and thin. "I shall never rest," he used to say again and again, "until I know myself to be out of debt."[1]

Sampson was especially distinguished for his judicial ability. Before eight months had passed, the pope appointed him to be an ecclesiastical judge. Being ignorant of the canon law, he associated with himself two learned clerks, and as opportunity offered, made himself acquainted with the decrees and decretal epistles. This appointment was followed by the king nominating him one of his justices in Eyre. In both these offices he manifested penetration, a deliberate and sound judgment, and impartiality. He had the rare merit of being incorruptible. "Cursed be the court of this abbot," said one of the suitors in the Ecclesiastical Court, "where gold and silver cannot help me to confound my adversaries."[2]

But Sampson was not satisfied with the ermine, he also put on the coat of mail. During the absence of Richard Cœur de Lion in the third crusade,

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[1] Id., pp. 8, 9.

[2] Id., p. 10.

Prince John treacherously sought to wrest the government out of the hands of the justiciaries, to whom his brother had entrusted it. In 1193 he took the royal castle of Windsor, and departing for the north, left it to be defended by a garrison of Welsh mercenaries. The barons marched to besiege it, and were joined by several abbots, and amongst them by Sampson, who had already excommunicated all disturbers of the public peace, and who went by the name of the magnanimous abbot. Sampson carried his own standard, and was followed by a retinue of knights, whom he maintained at great expense. His biographer naïvely says that at the siege he was more remarkable for counsel than for piety.[1] Sampson's loyalty to Richard even took him over to Austria, laden with gifts, to visit the king in prison. A.D. 1180-1193.

Sampson despised dainty monks, and himself never complained of what was set before him. Once, writes Jocelin, when it was my turn to serve in the refectory, wishing to prove him, I took up a sorry dinner in a black and broken dish. He looked at it, but with the air of one who saw not; and some delay taking place, I felt self-reproved and exchanged it for a better, but this he took amiss and was angry with me for it.[2]

[1] The garrison were soon compelled to surrender, and breaking their parole, were nearly all cut to pieces.

[2] Id., pp. 12, 15, 16. A few years before (A.D. 1187) when the news came of the loss of Jerusalem, Sampson put on a hair shirt under his other garments, and abstained from flesh.—P. 11.

The abbey increased in wealth and magnificence until it attained the second place in England, Glastonbury alone being superior. Leland saw it in the time of Henry VIII. just before it was suppressed. He writes: "The sun hath not shone on a monastery more illustrious, whether we consider its wealth, its extent, or its incomparable magnificence. You might indeed say that the monastery itself is a town; so many gates there are, so many towers, and a church than which none can be more magnificent; and subservient to which are three others, also splendidly adorned with admirable workmanship, and standing in one and the same churchyard."[1] "The tower, or church-gate, one of the finest specimens of Norman architecture in the kingdom, and the western gate erected about the middle of the fourth century, are all that now remain of this magnificent structure."[2]

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[1] *Penny Cyclopædia*, art. Bury St. Edmunds.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ibid.

CHAPTER VI.

The Paulicians in Western Europe.

"I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more."[1] Thus Jeremiah in prophetic vision portrays the character of the New Covenant. The fulfilment of this prophecy is the theme of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who repeats it word for word, introducing it by declaring that Christ, who has obtained a more excellent ministry than Aaron, is the mediator of this new and better covenant.[2] In these words the relation of the Christian Church to God is plainly set forth. The Old Covenant required a human priest as mediator, in the New the believer is brought near to God through Christ, the only

X. Cent.

[1] Jer. xxxi. 33, 34.

[2] Heb. viii. 6–13.

Per. IV. Chap. 6.

possible mediator. In the Old Covenant, first Moses, and afterwards the priests received heavenly gifts and dispensed them to the people, and the people in their turn brought offerings to the priests to be presented to God through their mediation. But in the New Covenant, the Gospel of the free grace of God, the heavenly gifts are poured down direct into the hearts of the believers, and their sins forgiven, without the intervention of any priest or mediator but Christ alone. It was the rejection of this grand truth that led the Church into a labyrinth of error. Instead of proclaiming the liberty of the New Covenant, she reimposed on men's consciences the old Levitical yoke, laden with burdens more numerous and heavier than before. The preaching of the Gospel is a holy obligation, the instruction of the ignorant is a blessed work, the shepherding and ruling of the Church, "not for filthy lucre, or as lording it over the charge," is an honourable office; but to create anew an order of men to whom the gifts and offices of the Spirit are limited, and to place the rest of mankind at a distance from God, with no access to the sanctuary but through the priest, is to deny the New Covenant, and to make the word of God of none effect.

The attempts at reformation described in these pages were so many acts of returning faith in the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy. The reformers had a sight of that goodly inheritance which the

Saviour had purchased for them, and they strove according to their means to take possession of it both for themselves and for all mankind. Some of them were but partially enlightened, and their mistakes were lamentable; yet inasmuch as by their means the lamp of truth was kept alive, they have a strong claim on our gratitude; and it may even be asserted that in respect of Christian doctrine, as well as of purpose and manner of life, they are far better entitled to a place in Church history, than are those who sought to extinguish them. X. Cent.

Our notice of the monasteries has brought us to the latter part of the twelfth century; we have now to go back about 200 years in order to mark the dawn of evangelical truth in Western Europe.

The tenth century is often spoken of as the midnight-hour of the Church's history. The Romish historians do not attempt to conceal the deplorable condition into which she had then fallen. "Behold," says Cardinal Baronius, that devoted servant of the papacy, "the 900th year of the Redeemer, the commencement of a new century, which by reason of its ruggedness and barrenness of good has been called the Iron Age, by the deformity of its exuberant evil, the Leaden Age, and by its poverty of writers, the Dark Age. The holy Roman Church which had been without spot or wrinkle, with what filth was

Per. IV. Chap. 6.

it her fate then to be bespattered! . . . How foul was her face, when abandoned women bore rule, at whose will sees were changed, bishops presented, and false pontiffs, their lovers, intruded into Peter's chair! . . . Then was Christ evidently in a deep sleep in the ship, and the ship itself covered with the waves."[1]

But even the darkness of the tenth century was illumined here and there, as in the life of the monk Nilus, by streaks of golden light. Scarcely had it closed, when a new era began to dawn,—an era in which the Church was never entirely to relapse into the former darkness; but by howsoever slow degrees, and amid whatever dense clouds and fearful storms, was to pursue an upward course unto the goal of glory. To trace the commencement of this new epoch is the object of the present chapter.

Transplanted into Thrace by Constantine Copronymus in the eighth century, and again by John Zimisces in the tenth,[2] the Paulicians gradually made their way into Western Europe. "Three roads," remarks Gibbon, "were open to them.

[1] *Ann. Eccles.* in *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 149, 157. "For 150 years," says another Romish writer, "viz., from John VIII. to Leo IX. (882–1048), about fifty popes wholly deserted the virtue of their predecessors, and may be written apostate rather than apostolic."—*Genebrardi Chron.*, ibid. Pope Gregory VII., in the latter part of the eleventh century, wrote to Hugh abbot of Cluny: "I discover scarcely any bishops who are lawful in their election or their manner of life, or who do not govern the people from secular ambition, not from the love of Christ."—*Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 163.

[2] See *ante*, p. 263..

(1) After the conversion of Hungary the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem might safely follow the course of the Danube; in their journey and return they passed through Philippopolis; and the sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might accompany the French or German caravans to their respective countries. (2) The trade and dominion of Venice pervaded the coast of the Adriatic; and the hospitable republic opened her bosom to foreigners of every climate and religion. (3) Under the Byzantine standard the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily; in peace and war they freely conversed with strangers and natives; and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps."[1]

The ground was prepared for the glad tidings; the gospel messengers everywhere found men ready to receive them. A craving for Scriptural knowledge and more soul-satisfying food than the effete Church was able to supply had arisen in the countries of the West; and many of the clergy even were ready to welcome any protest against ecclesiastical corruption.

Some of the sects which now made their appearance seem to have sprung up independently of Oriental influence. "The Cathari" (the most general name given to the reformers) "were," observes

[1] *Decline and Fall*, vii. pp. 149, 150.

Per. IV. Chap. 6.

Neander, "by no means all like-minded or of a common origin." Many derived no more from the Paulicians than their first impulse and their acquaintance with the Bible. Once aroused to a living religion, their faith and practice developed itself in its own peculiar manner. Others needed no such impulsion; "in them the devotional study of the Bible produced a practical mysticism." All however in addition to the peculiar Gnostic tenets which were so deep-rooted,[1] aimed at the restoration of the Church to its spiritual and apostolic simplicity. They disclaimed all those dogmas which had been added to the primitive Christian faith, such as purgatory, and the intercession of saints, with the whole hierarchical constitution and form of worship. "The sacraments," said some of them, "can in no wise be efficaciously administered by the degenerate priests of the dominant Church, because the question is not one of externals, but of the inward intention, in which these men are wanting. The true baptism is that of the Holy Ghost, whereby men are inwardly purified, the baptism by water being merely symbolical; infant-baptism is useless, because infants are incapable either of faith, of purpose of amendment, or of the reception of the Holy Spirit. The true

[1] Both contemporary writers and most modern historians call these sectaries Manichæans, but their doctrines connect them with the Gnostics rather than with Manes. All our information regarding them comes through their enemies.—See Neander, viii. pp. 296–310; Allix, *Ancient Churches of the Albigenses*, cc. xiv.–xix.; Jones, *Eccles. Hist.*, cc. xxxix., xli.

signification of the Lord's Supper is also spiritual, imparting union with Christ as the true bread of the soul; as our Lord says (John vi. 63), 'the flesh profiteth nothing.'" They seem to have rejected or wildly distorted the Old Testament revelation; and yet at the same time accepted the precepts of Christ in their faithful and literal sense, condemning war, the shedding of blood, and all asseveration beyond the simple Yea and Nay.[1]

"There must," remarks Neander, "have been something peculiarly affecting and animating in the private assemblies of these heretics. Those who wished to be admitted into their society were to come to them by night; the doors were closed, and the walls hung with lights. The brethren in devout silence formed a circle, into which the president, holding a copy of the Gospels in his hand, introduced the novice; and after a short discourse, in which he exhorted him to ground his belief and hope of eternal salvation on God alone, he set the book on his head, prayed the Lord's prayer, and uttered over him the first words of the gospel of John. The new member then gave to the president, and to all in succession, the kiss of brotherhood; they united in prayer, and he was henceforward regarded as a brother."[2] For

[1] Neander, ibid.: and *St. Bernard*, pp. 256, 257.

[2] Admission into the community was followed in due time by adoption into the inner circle of the *Perfect*. This was called *Consolamentum*.—Neander, *History*, viii. p. 311.

Per. IV. Chap. 6.

a while these sects increased without being regarded as heretical, for they waged no open war with the Church; they frequented the public worship in order to escape suspicion, and if questioned concerning their faith, they repeated the Apostles' Creed. It was only in secret that they sought to disseminate their tenets; and their unobtrusive piety and active benevolence had won for them the love and esteem of all men before the discovery of their heresy.[1]

The new opinions first made their appearance in Italy.[2] In 945 Atto bishop of Vercelli wrote to his flock: "There are amongst you many persons who despise the divine service of the Church: these men, who utter only words of brute ignorance and simplicity, you, forsaking your holy mother the Church and the priests, call prophets." Besides agreeing with the Cathari in regard to the "sacraments," and that it is unlawful to swear or to take life, they held that the law of Moses is no rule for Christians; that man cannot be saved by faith without works; and that the Church has no authority to persecute any, even the wicked.

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[1] Neander, *St. Bernard*, p. 258. A sectary at Milan, in the thirteenth century, was venerated as a saint, and miracles were reported to be wrought over his grave. It was only the investigation occasioned by the proposal to canonize him, that led to the discovery of his heresy.—Ibid. See also Jones, *Eccles. Hist.*, ii. p. 257, note.

[2] Faber, *Vallenses and Albigenses*, pp. 330–334. Some writers refer the origin of this early dissent to a period antecedent to the arrival of the Paulicians—to Claude of Turin, or even to the primitive ages of the Church.

They also avowed the untenable dogma of the Novatians and Donatists [1] that the Church, even as an outward institution, can consist of good men only. They are represented as being decent in their deportment, modest in their dress and discourse, and irreproachable in their morals: their bishops and deacons were mechanics who maintained themselves by their industry. By the year 1040 they had become very numerous at Milan, which was their chief centre.[2] A.D. 945–1040.

In the time of Heribert archbishop of Milan,[3] there was a sect whose head-quarters were at the Castle of Montfort, near the town of Asti in Piedmont. Many of the clergy and laity were numbered amongst its adherents, and it was protected by the nobles. If the accounts which their enemies have transmitted are at all to be relied upon, the tenets of these enthusiasts were of a very mystical kind, resembling those of the Euchites and Bogomiles.[4] Moreover they rejected marriage, married persons being admitted amongst them only on the condition of living apart; they led a life of prayer and rigid abstinence, and renounced all earthly possessions. The archbishop despatched a military force against the castle, which was taken, and a number of prisoners were conveyed to Milan. They were led into the market-place, on one side of which stood a cross, on the other a pile of burning wood, and

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 337–339.
[2] Jones, ii. pp. 253–257.
[3] About the year 1028.
[4] See *ante*, p. 266.

were told to take their choice, either to bow before the cross and confess the Catholic faith, or to plunge into the flames. A few chose the former; but the greater number, covering their faces with their hands, rushed into the fire and were consumed.[1] Some years later (A.D. 1075) Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), writing to the King of Denmark, tells him of a province not far from Rome occupied by heretics, and invites him to send one of his sons with a small force to conquer it.[2] Why the pope did not borrow a sword nearer home for the extirpation of this new growth we are not told.

This side the Alps the Paulician doctrines first attracted attention in the province of Aquitaine (Guienne). In 1010, and again in 1017, certain heretical teachers are accused of "persuading the people to deny baptism, the sign of the Holy Cross, the Church, and the Redeemer of the world Himself, the veneration of the saints, lawful marriage, and the eating of flesh, by which means they turned away many simple persons from the faith."[3]

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[1] Neander, vi. pp. 359-361; Milman, iv. p. 189; Elliott, ii. pp. 245, 246.

[2] Du Pin, ix. p. 51.

[3] Faber, ibid., p. 89. There is no doubt that some of these sects trod in the footsteps of the monks and hermits both as to celibacy and fasting. In some instances, however, the charge that they rejected marriage probably meant no more than that they "denied it to be a 'sacrament,' and disputed the endless impediments of affinity created by the Romish Church." At the Diet of Worms Aleander absurdly accused Luther of "shamefully vilifying the unalterable law of holy marriage."—*Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 486.

A.D. 1010-1075.

The earliest instance of ecclesiastical action against the new heresy of which we have any account, took place at Orleans A.D. 1022.[1] An Italian lady sojourning in that city, communicated the doctrine she had learned in her own country to several of the clergy, especially to two canons of the "Holy Cross," Stephen, confessor to Queen Constantia, and Lisoius. Amongst the converts was Herebert, chaplain to Arefaste a knight of Rouen. The chaplain boasted to his patron that Orleans was blessed above all other cities with the light of true wisdom. Arefaste suspecting heresy, communicated what he had heard to Duke Richard, who reported it to the king, by whose command he went to Orleans to investigate the matter. The more completely to do this he feigned himself a disciple, and for the protection of his own soul from the poison of the heresy, by the advice of an aged priest of Chartres he received the Communion daily. Supposing they had to do with an honest inquirer, Stephen and Lisoius unfolded to him their doctrine without reserve. They declared, so Arefaste reported, that Christ was not born of the Virgin Mary, did not suffer for mankind, was not really laid in the tomb, and did not rise from the dead; that water-baptism cannot wash away sins; and that the consecrating words of the priest cannot convert the bread and wine

[1] The common date is 1017, but see Elliott, ii. p. 268, note 2.

Per. IV. Chap. 6.

into the body and blood of Christ; that it is a vain thing to make prayers to the saints and martyrs; and that works of righteousness and charity cannot purchase eternal life.[1] "If," objected the pretended inquirer after truth, "I am not to look to good works for salvation, tell me I pray you what I may look to, lest I fall into despair." He was answered that in their further instructions they would show him how he might be cleansed from every stain of sin, and receive the Holy Spirit by the laying on of their hands; and that then he should eat heavenly food, and often see angels, with whom he should travel whither he pleased with ease and despatch. The heavenly food they spoke of he interpreted to be nightly orgies, at which, as was reported of the Early Christians, they indulged in Thyestean banquets.[2]

Whilst Arefaste was thus deceitfully collecting evidence, King Robert arrived with his queen at Orleans; and the next day, having caused the chief men of the party to be apprehended at one of their private meetings, he assembled a council of bishops, before whom they were brought in chains for trial. Called upon to confess their

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[1] Another account makes them reject the revelation of the Scriptures with regard to creation and the Trinity, and deny the necessity of a virtuous life, and the future punishment of the wicked.—Mosheim, ii. p. 393, note.

[2] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 267–271; Elliott, ii. pp. 270, 271; Mosheim, ii. pp. 393–395, and notes; Du Pin, ix. pp. 109, 110. For the banquets of human flesh, see *Early Church History*, pp. 54, 70, 84.

faith, they did this in so guarded a manner as to afford no ground for accusation. But when Arefaste stood forward and recounted the conversations he had had with them, and reminded them of their boast that neither torture nor death would ever move them, they admitted the charges and said they had long held such doctrines. Nay more, they asserted their expectation that both their judges and all the world would, sooner or later, embrace the same faith; and as to the fire with which they were threatened, they spoke as though they expected to be delivered from it unhurt. Their last words to the council were: "Speak to those who mind earthly things and who believe the figments of men written on parchment; to us who have the law written on the heart by the Holy Spirit, and relish nothing but what we have learned from God, the things you speak of are vain. Cease therefore to question us; do with us as you will; for now we see our King ready to receive us to heavenly joys at his right hand." After a nine hours' examination they were condemned to death; and, such of them as were priests being first stripped of their clerical vestments, they were led away, thirteen in number, to a great fire kindled outside the city walls. As they passed the church-door, Queen Constantia with a stick struck her confessor Stephen, and dashed out one of his eyes. When they were bound to the stake, a smile was seen on their faces

A.D. 1022.

Per. IV. Chap. 6.

which continued even in the midst of the flames.[1] Ten of those who were burnt were canons, the remaining three being laymen of distinction. Two, a priest and a nun, drew back. The corpse of another canon who had died in the heresy three years before was, at the command of the bishop, exhumed and cast out on the highway.[2]

What was the real creed of these confessors it is difficult to say; it must be borne in mind that all we know of them is derived from the evidence of a spy and the records of a prejudiced court. Such testimony is to be received with the utmost caution. The charge of abominable practices is in direct contradiction to their known character, since their enemies themselves bear witness to their intelligence and the purity of their lives.

Thus for the first time in Europe were men burnt at the stake by the Church which called herself Christian. This deed marks the beginning of the saddest era in the history of the Church. To France was offered the priceless boon of a revival in religious life. She knew not the day of her visitation, and quenched the upspringing light in blood. Her eyes beheld not the long and dark

[1] This is the statement of the more copious narrator. The other principal authority, Glaber Rodulphus, says, "they leaped exulting into the flames, but no sooner felt the heat than they cried out that they had been deceived, and were about to perish for ever. The by-standers moved with pity made efforts to draw them out, but it was too late; they were reduced to ashes." This writer adds that others of the sect being afterwards discovered were put to death in the same manner.—Mosheim, ii. p. 393, note.

[2] Elliott, ii. pp. 273–275; Mosheim, ii. pp. 392–395; Neander, vi. pp. 349–354.

reign of injustice and cruelty she was then inaugurating, and how when the bitter cup was full, it would be given back to her to drink the very dregs. The *Auto-da-Fés* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were the forerunners of the sanguinary crusades against the Albigenses, Waldenses and Huguenots, and more remotely, of the national infidelity and the French Revolution. Again and again, with a remorseless hand, the salt was cast out, until nothing remained to save the nation from corruption. If the attempts at reformation so often renewed in France had had free course, the unbelief of the eighteenth century had surely never so stifled the voice of truth as to leave the nation a prey to the curse of intellectual without spiritual life. The seeds of this bitter harvest were sown in the blazing faggots of Orleans.[1] A.D. 1022-1025.

Three years after the burning at Orleans we find similar opinions reappearing at Arras in French Flanders. In 1025 Gerhard, archbishop of Cambray and Arras, being in the latter city, was informed that a new kind of heresy had been introduced by certain Italians, "who disputed against the sacraments of the Church and overthrew the established religion." The accused were

[1] Dean Alford relates the following anecdote:—"My late venerated father was once seriously ill at Liège. During his convalescence he had many conversations with his physician, and on one occasion ventured to remonstrate with him on the scantiness of his religious faith. 'Moi,' was the reply, 'je suis laïque, et je crois beaucoup; mais mon frère, il est abbé, et il ne croit rien!'"—*Truth and Trust*, Preface.

Per. IV. Chap. 6.

thrown into prison, brought before the bishop and examined as to their faith and manner of life. They answered that they were the disciples of one Gundulph, an Italian, by whom they had been instructed in the gospels and epistles—the only Scriptures which they acknowledged—and that they adhered to these in word and life.[1] They discarded the use of the bread and wine, and rejected water-baptism, especially the baptism of infants. They condemned images, denied the sanctity of churches, altars and crosses, and disapproved of incense, oil and bells. They condemned marriage, and asserted that funeral rites were invented by the priests to gratify their avarice, and that it mattered nothing where the dead were interred. They objected to penance as then practised, and denied that the sins of the dead can be expiated by masses or by gifts to the poor. They protested against the difference of rank amongst the clergy, and in their zeal for a spiritual Christianity, they denied the divine authority of Church offices. They summed up the doctrines of Christ and the Apostles in these few comprehensive articles. "To forsake the world, to overcome the flesh, to support one's self by labour, to injure no one, to love the brethren." The bishop was a prudent man. Desiring the reclamation, not the destruction of these seceders, he ordered his clergy and the monks to fast and pray

[1] See *ante*, p. 264.

for them, whilst he himself reasoned with them in a laborious and temperate manner. To afford them time for reflection, he remanded them to prison for three days; at the end of which time, whether influenced by the bishop's arguments, or by the thickness of the prison walls, or by the fear of a worse fate, or lastly, as has been suggested by some writers, hoodwinked by a trick on the part of their judges, they submitted and sued for pardon. A paper of retractation was drawn up which they signed, and they were then dismissed in peace with the episcopal benediction. But it is to be noted that the recantation was in Latin, a language they did not understand, and that it was explained to them by an interpreter.[1] A.D. 1025-1056.

Several councils for the suppression of heresy, one at Charroux near Poictiers in 1028, another at the royal city of Rheims in 1049, and a third at Toulouse in 1056, serve to show how wide-spread the religious fermentation had become.[2] By the last two all who kept company with the heretics were declared to be excommunicate. About the same time Berengar, head of the Public School at Tours, drew much attention by assailing the doctrine of transubstantiation. His writings were condemned, 1050–1055, by several councils, and

[1] Mosheim, ii. pp. 395–397; Elliott, ii. pp. 275–277; *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 273–276.

[2] Other localities are mentioned. The infection extended even to Goslar, in the Harz Mountains, where in 1052 some "Manichæans" were put to death by order of the Emperor Henry III.—Neander, vi. p. 349, note.

Per. IV. Chap. 6.

lacking the fortitude of a martyr he recanted.[1] Besides maintaining that the Lord's Supper was to be a spiritual, not an outward communion, he is said to have rejected the baptism of infants, and marriage.[2]

In the midst of the bishops' emulation for the detection and extinction of heresy, it is refreshing to meet with the name of one who protested manfully, and so far as we know single-handed, against the intolerant spirit of the times. This was Waso, bishop of Liège, who died about 1047. During the spread of heretical tenets in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne, his opinion was asked on the right mode of dealing with heretics. In the spirit of Theodore Studites,[3] he answered: "Although such doctrines must be condemned as unchristian, yet after the example of our Saviour we are bound to bear with those who hold them. The parable of the wheat and the tares teaches us not at once to condemn sinners, but to wait with long-suffering for their repentance. By the servants who were for pulling up the tares as soon as they appeared, are to be understood overhasty priests. Those who are of the tares to-day may to-morrow

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[1] When Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, reproached him with changing his opinions on coming to Rome, Berengar replied: "Human wickedness by outward force can extort a recantation from human weakness; but it is God's Almighty power alone that can effect a change of conviction."—Ibid., p. 238.

[2] Elliott, ii. pp. 277, and notes, 280; *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 276, 277.

[3] See *ante*, p. 260.

bring forth good fruit; and whilst we are thinking of exercising justice by punishing the wicked we may be counteracting the purposes of Him who wills not the death of a sinner, but seeks by patience and long-suffering to bring back all to repentance. Let these men be reserved then to the last harvest of the great Master of the house, for whose sentence we ourselves also must wait with fear and trembling. He can make those who now fight against us, occupy in that heavenly country a higher place than we. And we bishops ought certainly to remember that we did not, at our ordination, receive from God any vocation to slay, but only the vocation to make alive."[1] A.D. circ. 1047.

In this century the attempts at reformation have been of a sporadic nature, often questionable as to Scriptural doctrine, and avoiding rather than courting publicity. In the next century we shall come upon a clearer faith, a wider and more general action, and a fearless assault on the stronghold of ecclesiastical abuses.

[1] Neander, vi. pp. 366, 367.

CHAPTER VII.

The Reformers of the Twelfth Century.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

Section I. The first noteworthy preacher of the reformed doctrines in this century is a priest named Peter of Brueys. Through the diligent study of the New Testament he had acquired a clear conception of the worship of God in spirit and in truth. Regarding faith as necessary to baptism, he rejected the baptism of infants; and when in consequence of re-immersing those who joined them his followers were called Anabaptists, they demurred to the name, alleging that the baptism performed in infancy was no baptism at all. He rejected the celebration of the Lord's Supper, holding that Christ once for all, before He suffered, having broken His body in the bread and distributed it to His disciples, the same thing could not be repeated. He vehemently opposed the sacrifice of the Mass, which he regarded as the pillar on which the dominion of the priesthood chiefly rested. "Trust not," he exclaimed to the people, "to your misleading clergy, when they pretend to produce for you the body of Christ and to deliver it to you for the salvation of your souls."

He condemned prayers, offerings and alms for the dead: "the state of a man after death," he said, "depends on his conduct during life, nothing that is done afterwards can be of any avail." Burdened with the pomp of public worship, the multiplied ceremonies which had converted it into a mechanical service, and the artificial chanting which affected the senses rather than the heart, he says, "God is mocked by such services; He to whom pious feeling alone is acceptable is neither brought near by loud vociferation, nor propitiated by musical melodies." In like manner he despised *consecrated* buildings: "God is to be worshipped in the shop or in the market-place equally as in the church; He hearkens to the sincere suppliant whether praying before an altar or in a workshop."[1] XII. Cent.

But although Peter had a clear insight into the teaching of the New Testament, he was far from having imbibed its genuine spirit. Lamentably deficient in judgment and charity, he suffered his zeal to betray him into fanaticism. He not only condemned the superstitious reverence for the Cross, but insisted that as the memorial of Christ's sufferings, every representation of it ought, by way of avenging His death, to be cast away and destroyed.[2] This maxim was carried out by his

[1] Neander, *Church History*, viii. pp. 338–341; and *St. Bernard*, pp. 265–267.

[2] In this respect he resembled Claude of Turin.—See *ante*, p. 230, note.

followers only too literally. On a certain Good Friday they brought together all the crucifixes they could collect, and making of them a great fire, roasted meat thereat and invited every one to partake. They even proceeded to pull down altars, scourge priests, and compel monks to marry. "What other result," asks Neander, "could be anticipated from the spirit of unbridled liberty pervading so rude an age, when we see that at the more advanced era of the Reformation, all the caution of the reformers was insufficient to prevent men from confounding earthly licentiousness with Christian freedom, and to restrain the wild bursts of human passion?"[1]

Peter preached first in Dauphiné, his native country; being driven thence, he travelled up and down for twenty years in Gascony, Languedoc and Provence, waging war against superstition, and making many proselytes. "In Provence there was nothing to be seen but Christians re-baptized, churches profaned, altars pulled down, and crosses burnt." But about 1124, being at the city of St. Gilles in Languedoc, Peter was seized at the instigation of the clergy by an infuriated mob, hurried away and burnt at the stake, "thus passing," says even the large-hearted Peter of Cluny, "from temporal to eternal fire."[2]

In 1119 a council at Toulouse issued the follow-

[1] Neander, ibid.: and *Hist.*, ibid.

[2] Ibid., viii. p. 349; Du Pin, x. pp. 86, 87; Elliott, ii. p. 282.

ing canon in reference to Peter and other schismatics. "We condemn as heretics, and exclude from the Church of God, those who under the pretence of religion reject the Sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, Infant Baptism, Priesthood, Holy Orders, and lawful Marriage; and we enjoin that they should be suppressed by the secular power."[1] A.D. circ. 1124.

Not many years afterwards Peter of Cluny, being on a tour in Gascony, set himself to repair the breaches which he everywhere found in the Church. He drew up a refutation of the errors, as he deemed them to be, of the Petrobrusians (the followers of Peter de Brueys), and sent it to the bishops of the province, telling them that it was their duty by preaching to drive the sectaries from their hiding-places, and if unable of themselves to do this they must invoke the secular power. "But since," he says, "it becomes Christian charity to labour rather for the conversion than for the extirpation of heretics, authority and reason are the great means to be employed, so that if they profess themselves to be Christians, they may bow to the one, or if they desire to be considered as men they may acknowledge the other."[2]

Section II. Whilst the abbot of Cluny was thus

[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 323; Du Pin, x. p. 212.

[2] Neander, ibid., pp. 340, 341. The abbot traces the new doctrines to the Cottian Alps, whence they had spread over all the south of France.—*Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 198.

unconsciously seeking to quench gospel light, a denizen of his own cloisters had been visited by heavenly illumination and made ready as a Witness for the truth. This was Henry of Lausanne, a monk and deacon, who taking like Peter the New Testament for his guide, saw that the Gospel points to a life of practical activity, not to one of contemplative inaction, and felt himself called to minister to the wants of the people, who were either totally neglected or led astray by a hireling clergy. Accordingly he sallied forth in his monkish attire, and waiting for no invitation took up his abode, in city or country, in one house after another, preaching the spiritual life, and contented with such fare as was set before him.[1]

From Lausanne, where he appears to have first preached, he came into Central France. Men like-minded joined him as he went along, and an apostolical society was formed under his direction. Having no controversy, as Peter of Brueys had, with the symbol of the Saviour's passion, he caused to be carried before him a banner on which was worked a figure of the cross,[2] as an invitation to all men to take up the cross of Christ. At first he confined himself to preaching repentance, and denouncing that sham Christianity in which the

[1] Ibid.

[2] Neander, viii. pp. 341-350. Or it may have been an iron cross on a staff.—Du Pin, x. p. 86.

fruits of a godly life are wanting. Soon however he proceeded to warn men against a worldly-minded clergy, those false guides whose teaching and example did more to promote wickedness than to restrain it. Especially he attacked their unchastity; and less enlightened than his compatriot on the subject of celibacy, he joined the monks in supporting the harsh decrees of Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) against the married clergy.[1] A.D. circ. 1116.

Henry's appearance was such as of itself to command attention. The rapid changes in his countenance are likened by the contemporary chronicler to "a ruffled and tempestuous sea. He was as yet very young; he wore short hair, his beard shaved; was large in stature, but very sorrily clothed; walked apace, and barefooted even in the hardest time of winter. His ordinary retreats were the cottages of peasants; he lived all day under porticoes; ate and slept on some hill or other in the open air. The women cried him up for a great Servant of God,"—it is, as usual, a hostile pen which is describing him—"and gave out that no person could have a greater faculty

[1] Neander, ibid. It cost Gregory "a mighty struggle to carry out his purpose. The opposers were not overcome till he had enlisted against them all the blind passion and coarse Manichæism of the lowest among the people, hounding on the rabble to insults and outrage of every kind. . . . Of the frightful evils which sprang from the success which attended his efforts, it does not need to speak more in particular. Sufficient to say that Hildebrand's iron will and pitiless resolution triumphed in the end over all opposition."—Trench, *Mediæval Church History*, p. 119. Gregory was pope from A.D. 1073 to 1085.—See also *Early Church History*, pp. 518-520, and note.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

than he of converting the most obdurate hearts; and that he was endued with the spirit of prophecy, to discern the most inward recesses of the conscience, and the most private sins. He had a natural eloquence, and a tone of voice resembling thunder." Contrited under the searching ministry of this Whitfield of the Middle Ages, the people hastened to confess their sins and to renounce their loose manner of life.[1]

On Ash-Wednesday A.D. 1116, two of Henry's disciples in the garb of penitents appeared with their banner at Le Mans, the chief city of the province of Maine. They came to see if their master might visit the city as a preacher of repentance during the season of Lent. His fame had preceded him, and the messengers "were received by the people as angels." The bishop Hildebert, a discreet and pious man, gave them a friendly reception, Henry not having as yet come under suspicion of heresy. Himself about starting for Rome, the bishop gave directions to his archdeacon that Henry should have liberty to preach. The effect of his preaching was wonderful. Not only were the common people drawn and bound to him by an invisible chain, but the younger clergy eagerly gathered round him, and prepared a stage in a public place from which he could be heard by the whole city. Nevertheless the higher clergy

[1] Du Pin, ibid.; Neander, ibid.; Milman, iv. pp. 176, 177.

set their faces against him, and when the citizens, A.D. 1116. in revenge, withdrew from the churches and insulted the priests, they applied for protection to the civil power. At the same time they addressed a letter to Henry upbraiding him with abusing the confidence reposed in him, and with instigating the people to schism, sedition and heresy. They forbade him under pain of excommunication to preach in any part of the diocese. Henry refused to recognize their authority, and when the prohibitory letter was read in public he shook his head at every sentence, and exclaimed, "Thou liest!" Not the working-classes only, but substantial citizens looked up to Henry as their spiritual guide; gold and silver were placed at his disposal, so that if he had been actuated by sordid motives he might easily have made himself rich. If he failed to restrain his own and the people's passions in the good cause he had at heart, he did not at least use his great influence for his own emolument, but to raise the moral character of the people. Especially he promoted marriage amongst the laity, striving to break down the arbitrary barriers of relationship which the Church had set up, as well as those of caste which had grown up between the free-born and the serfs. He also set himself against the prevalent custom of choosing a wife for the sake of her dowry.[1]

When Hildebert returned from Rome he found

[1] Du Pin, ibid.; Neander, ibid.: and *St. Bernard*, pp. 271–275.

the tone of feeling in Le Mans strangely altered. He himself was no longer received with the customary demonstrations of joy and reverence. His episcopal blessing was despised. "We have," said the people, "another father, priest and intercessor, more virtuous in life, more eminent in knowledge, more exalted in authority. The clergy hate him because they are afraid that by means of the Scriptures he will expose their vices, their incontinence and their false doctrine." Hildebert as we have said was a prudent man; he saw the danger of attempting to put down Henry's influence by force. Accordingly he sought a private interview, in which he prevailed upon him, either by authority or argument, quietly to leave the diocese and betake himself to some other field.[1]

Notwithstanding the allusion just made to the false doctrines of the priests, it does not appear that Henry, whilst he was at Le Mans, made any distinct attack either upon the dogmas or the ceremonial of the Church. It was otherwise when, directing his course southward, he came to the country in which Peter of Brueys had already laboured. We have seen that the abbot of Cluny in his treatise speaks of Henry of Lausanne as the heir of Peter's wickedness.[2] Here Henry

[1] Neander, *Hist.*, ibid. "The bishop," says Milman, "bade him repeat the Morning Hymn, which finding he was unable to do, he concluded him to be a poor ignorant man."—Vol. iv. p. 178.

[2] Milman says Henry joined Peter, and after the latter was burned retired into Gascony.—Ibid.; see also Neander, *St. Bernard*, pp. 276, 277.

published a tract against the abuses of the Church, in which he gave a more systematic shape to the teaching of his predecessor. The clergy were greatly alarmed, and the archbishop of Arles, having succeeded in getting possession of Henry's person (A.D. 1134), took him to the Council of Pisa, at which Pope Innocent II. presided. By this council he was pronounced a heretic, and placed under the custody of Bernard of Clairvaux. Recovering his liberty, he returned to the south of France, and recommenced preaching around Toulouse and Albi, where the anti-Romish tendencies were strong, and were favoured by the feudal lords who were striving to render themselves independent of their sovereigns. Here he laboured for ten years with remarkable success.[1] Bernard, whose watchful eye took in the whole Gallic Church with its wants and perils, roused himself, and called upon the count of St. Gilles and Toulouse to put down the heresy. "We have heard," he tells him, "what great things Henry the heretic is doing every day in the churches of God; wandering up and down, a ravenous wolf in sheep's clothing. The churches are without people, the people without priests, the priests without becoming reverence, and Christians without Christ. The invocation of saints, offerings for the dead, pilgrimages, festivals, are all neglected, and

A.D. 1131-1144.

[1] His followers were called after him Henricians.

Per. IV. [Chap. 7.

baptism is denied to infants, who are thus robbed of salvation." [1]

Pope Eugenius III., who had been driven from Rome by a rival and was keeping his court at Avignon, saw the necessity of adopting energetic measures if the new heresy was to be prevented from overspreading the land. He sent into Languedoc the cardinal bishop Alberic of Ostia, who however refused to undertake the task unless Bernard would go with him : " Henry," he said, " is an antagonist, who can only be put down by the vanquisher of Abelard and of Arnold of Brescia." [2] Bernard's strength was failing, and he hesitated ; but his old zeal for the Church prevailed, and he set out for the heretical provinces, where he not only preached with extraordinary success, but is said to have performed many miracles. The legate came in all the pomp of office with a train of attendant clergy. The intelligent weavers and the spiritually-minded priests who had left the Romish communion despised such show, and set his authority at nought.[3] But Bernard's appearance, which refuted the common charge that the ecclesiastics had all become worldly, produced a totally different impression. At Albi, a focus of the defection, a vast multitude assembled to hear

[1] Neander, *Hist.*, viii. pp. 348, 349 ; Elliott, ii. p. 285 ; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 280.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 387–393 ; and below, p. 469.

[3] At Albi the townspeople came out to meet him on asses with kettle-drums before them.—Neander, *St. Bernard*, p. 279.

him. In his discourse he examined in succession the several articles of the heresy, and showed their deviation from the Roman Catholic faith, and then called upon the people to declare which of the two they would choose. Carried away by his eloquence and the mastery of his spirit, they exclaimed that they abhorred heresy, and were desirous only to return to the bosom of the Church. "Return, then," replied Bernard, "and that we may the better distinguish those who are sincere, let all true penitents lift up their hands." It is said that every hand was lifted up.[1] A.D. 1144-1148.

But Bernard was not always so successful. Coming to the castle of Viride Folium (Green Leaf), he entered the church and commenced preaching. In the midst of his sermon the leaders of the Henricians went out and were followed by the whole congregation. Bernard hastened after them into the street, and continued his discourse in the open air; but they cited against him passages of Scripture with so much vociferation that he was obliged to desist. On leaving the castle he is said to have exclaimed in allusion to its name, "Green Leaf, God shall wither thee."[2]

The bishops once more laid hands on Henry,

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[1] Ibid., note; Milman, ibid.; Morison, *St. Bernard*, pp. 404, 405.

[2] Neander, *Hist.*, ibid. "Viride folium, desiccet te Deus." It was popularly believed that this curse was fulfilled in the destruction of the castle which took place some time afterwards.—Ibid.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

and he was carried in chains before a council held at Rheims in 1148. Here he was condemned to death, but at the intercesison of archbishop Samson, who presided, and who deprecated the shedding of blood, the sentence was commuted to "imprisonment for life, with meagre diet, that he might be brought to repentance."[1]

At the same time there was a stirring in the provinces of Périgueux, Guienne and Dauphiné. In the first, a monk named Pontius drew away from the Catholic Communion nobles, clerics, monks and nuns. He preached the same doctrine as Henry, treated the Host with the utmost contempt, and seems to have rejected the Supper altogether. It is said the most unlettered peasant who joined him acquired in a week sufficient knowledge of Scripture to put the priests to silence. The followers of Pontius were credited by the common people with being consummate sorcerers. Especially it was impossible to bind them. "Loaded with chains, stowed carefully in a wine butt turned bottom upwards, and well watched by a strong guard, they yet in the morning were found to have evaporated, as it were, and were not seen again till they chose to show themselves." A letter to Pope Lucius II. from Dauphiné in 1144, complains that the plague of heresy has broken out in that province. "Baptism, the Mass, and

[1] Ibid.: and *St. Bernard*, p. 281.

the imposition of hands by the priests, are counted for nothing. The sectaries have their neophytes, their priests and even their bishops, as we have. Every part of France," it is added, "is corrupted by the poison issuing from this province."[1] A.D. 1144-1162.

The Catholic world now began to awake to the magnitude of the danger with which it was threatened, and to devise comprehensive measures to avert it. In 1162 Pope Alexander III., who like Eugenius had fled from Rome to Avignon, declared that every secular prince who should not employ his authority for the suppression of heresy should be accursed; and the next year he called a council at Tours for the purpose of giving effect to this declaration. A large number of bishops, abbots, priests and laymen, chiefly French and English, assembled; and the decrees issued by them constitute the first solemn act of the Church of Rome, which can properly be called *inquisitorial*. "There has," they say, "sprung up in the country about Toulouse a damnable heresy, which creeping on like a cancer, has spread into Gascony and infected many other provinces. Serpent-like it conceals itself in its own windings, and glides along, threatening danger to the simple and unwary." As an antidote to this poison, they prescribe the same remedy that has been so largely used for political purposes in our own day. "Wherefore

[1] Neander, viii. pp. 336, 337; *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 291, 292; Morison, pp. 403, 404.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

we command all bishops and priests to keep a watchful eye upon the heretics, and to forbid all men under pain of excommunication to harbour or assist or *trade with them*, that so, through deprivation of the benefits of society, they may be forced to repent of their error. And whosoever shall attempt to oppose this decree shall be smitten with the same anathema."[1] To which these words were added: "Forasmuch as they frequently assemble in hiding-places, let such conventicles be closely searched, and if the attenders be found guilty, let them be restrained with canonical severity."

In 1167 there was "a council held by the heretics themselves near Toulouse, under the presidency of a man whom they styled pope, and who is said to have come from Constantinople. A vast multitude of both sexes flocked to receive from him the mystical rite of *consolamentum*."[2] Their pope "told them that all Churches were originally like the seven Churches of Asia independent of each other, and that such was still the case with their brethren of Bulgaria, Dalmatia and the East."[3]

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[1] Allix, *Ancient Churches of the Albigenses*, pp. 116, 117; Dr. Rule, *History of the Inquisition*, pp. 2–4. On Alexander's return to Rome he held a general council (the third Lateran, A.D. 1179), at which the decrees of the Council of Tours were re-enacted with additional severities. His successor Lucius III., at the Council of Verona, A.D. 1184, made a law of the same kind, and with a still nearer approach to the office of the Inquisition.—Pp. 5–7.

[2] See *ante*, p. 431, note.

[3] *Stud. Eccles. Hist.*, ii. p. 589.

A few years afterwards (1176), a party of Henricians (called by themselves *Boni-Homines*, Good Men) were apprehended in Languedoc, and brought before a council at Lombers near Albi. They held that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ may be consecrated by every good man, whether priest or layman. Respecting confession, they would go no further than the apostle James, "Confess your sins one to another, and pray one for another that ye may be healed." They regarded all oaths as unlawful. Of the Scriptures, they received only the New Testament and such parts of the Old as are referred to by Christ Himself or His apostles. They held that when men of unworthy lives are ordained to the priesthood they are not priests or bishops, but hypocrites. When the president of the council, after citing many Scripture passages, proceeded to pass sentence on them as heretics, they retorted that it was he who was a heretic and not they, and that they were not careful to answer him further, because the Lord had commanded to beware of false prophets. Then turning to the people they made a Catholic confession in accordance with the creed of the Church, and to which little or no exception could be taken; but when required to swear to it they refused, because Christ has forbidden all swearing. Their confession was in consequence held to be invalid, and they were condemned accordingly. Their sympathisers how- A.D. 1162-1176.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

ever seem to have been too powerful to allow the punishment to follow.[1]

Section III. The next place to be soiled by the red hand of persecution is Vezelay in Burgundy. This little town was famous for a Benedictine monastery founded in the ninth century, and rendered especially sacred by the supposed relics of Mary Magdalene brought thither in the tenth. The town and the church (the latter being now the only remains of the monastery) crown the summit of the loftiest hill of that region, and are conspicuous from all the country around. The pleasant river Cure flows far below, and the prospect looking up the winding valley to the south, and the granite ravines to the north, is one of the most picturesque in Central France. The abbey-church, a magnificent structure, was a great shrine of pilgrimage, and attracted commerce and wealth to the town. It was the era of the great struggle in France for communal independence; and the townsmen of Vezelay were a turbulent race. Leagued with the neighbouring count of Nevers they were embroiled with the abbot and monks in a perpetual feud. In 1120 they burnt the monastery, and plundered it in 1137. Fifteen years later Louis VII. was obliged to march with an army against the count, in order to preserve

[1] Faber, *Vallenses*, pp. 221–244; Maitland, *Facts and Documents*, pp. 139–145; Rule, p. 5; Gieseler, iii. pp. 402, 403.

The Church at Vezelay, Burgundy.

peace. At the Reformation the abbot became Protestant, and the Huguenots took forcible possession of the monastery in 1569, after which it fell into ruin. The church has in modern times been restored in an admirable manner.[1] A.D. 1120-1146.

Several notable events happened at Vezelay in the twelfth century. Here in 1146 Bernard of Clairvaux preached the second Crusade. Louis VII., with his Queen, the beautiful and haughty Eleanor, and a great train of nobles and retainers came to meet him. The castle being too small they assembled on an adjacent hill, where a platform was erected for the king and the preacher. Both wore the white cross. Bernard in his eloquence rivalled Peter the Hermit at Clermont in the previous century, and when he had spoken the whole multitude rent the air with shouts of "Crosses, crosses!"[2]

[1] *Magasin Pittoresque*, 1853, p. 105. The capitals of the numerous pillars of the nave are carved with hideous scenes and figures, the expression of the hard religion which prevailed in that age. "Instead," says Prosper Merimée, "of loving themes such as repentance, pardon and the reward of the righteous, the sculptors, themselves usually ecclesiastics, have graven frightful and revolting images; Samuel hewing Agag in pieces, demons quartering the condemned or dragging them down into the pit; hideous monsters, and faces distorted with torment or grinning with delight at its infliction. Imagine the devotion of men brought up with such surroundings, and you will wonder the less at the massacre of the Albigenses."—Quoted by Milman, vol. iii. p. 487, note (*a*). Many of the mediæval churches of England exhibit a like tendency: not alone gargoyles but porches and capitals are sometimes adorned (?) with the figures of demons.

[2] On another occasion Bernard "preached to the Knights Templars, then in the dawn of their valour and glory. The Koran," says Milman, "is tame to this fierce hymn of battle. 'The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, more sure if he is slain. The Christian glories in the death of the pagan, because Christ is glorified: by his own death both he himself and Christ are still more glorified.'"—Vol. iii. p. 399.

They crowded to the stage to receive the holy badge which, in the words of an eye-witness, "he flung abroad rather than distributed." The great sheaf of crosses he had brought being dispersed, he tore up his own garments to satisfy the eager claimants, and as long as he remained in the town he did nothing else than make crosses.[1]

Another famous event is the excommunication of his adversaries pronounced in 1165 by Thomas à Becket in this church. On the promulgation by Henry II. of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, by which the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts and the privilege of sanctuary were curtailed, Becket, after venting his indignation and appealing to the pope, fled to France. From Soissons he came to Vezelay. It was the Feast of the Ascension, and the church was crowded. A message from the King of France announcing that Henry was dangerously ill withheld Becket from empty-

[1] Ibid.; Neander, *St. Bernard*, pp. 215, 216; Morison, pp. 368, 369. The spot is still shown where the stage was erected. Bernard preached the Crusade in Germany as well as France, performing, it is said, daily miracles, and arousing the most ardent enthusiasm.—Morison, pp. 370–373; Neander, p. 307. Nevertheless, Dean Waddington observes, "the history of religious war has not recorded any expedition at the same time more fatal or more fruitless. After two or three years of suffering and disaster almost uninterrupted, a miserable remnant of survivors returned to relate their misfortunes and marvel at their discomfiture. A general outcry was raised against St. Bernard; innumerable widows and orphans demanded of the prophet their husbands and their sires; or at least they claimed the sacred laurels which he had promised. . . . He asserted that his prophecies were only conditional; that in foretelling the success of the crusaders, he had *assumed* their righteousness and the purity of their lives; that their own enormous crimes had averted or suspended the designs of Providence!"—*Hist. of the Church*, ii. p. 342.

ing completely the vial of his wrath. He preached; and when he had finished there was an awful pause; after which the bells tolled, the crosses were inverted, and the twelve assistant priests who stood around him held their torches ready to be extinguished. He uttered the form of excommunication against all his adversaries one by one, and as the torches were dashed down and extinguished, imprecated that their souls might in like manner be quenched in hell. Then he read the Constitutions of Clarendon, condemned them *in toto*, excommunicated all who should abet or observe them, annulled the statute by which they were enacted, and absolved the bishops from the oath which they had taken to observe them. Lastly he named the king, but instead of excommunicating, he only called upon Henry in a subdued voice, half-choked with tears, to repent and atone for the wrongs he had offered to the Church, otherwise the same sentence would fall too upon his head.[1]

A.D. 1146-1165.

[1] Southey, *Book of the Church*, i. pp. 193–196; Milman, iii. pp. 487, 488. The malediction which the Church styled excommunication was a mingling of heathen superstition with the divine judgments for disobedience predicted by Moses against Israel (Deut. xxviii.). It was, as Southey says, "revolting and horrible in the extreme for a Christian minister to call upon the Redeemer of mankind to fulfil such execrations. The obnoxious person was cursed in soul and body, in limbs, joints and members, at home and abroad, in going out and coming in, in towns and castles, in fields and meadows, in streets and public ways, by land and by water, sleeping and waking, standing, sitting and lying, eating and drinking, speaking or holding his peace, by day and by night, in all places and at all times. The heavens were adjured to be to him as brass, and the earth as iron. God was invoked to afflict him with hunger and thirst, with poverty, cold, fever and all manner of disease, with blindness and

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

Again a few years later, in 1180, Richard Cœur de Lion and the French King Philip Augustus, with a splendid host of mail-clad knights and men-at-arms, lodged at Vezelay on their way to the third Crusade.

These three events filled the trumpet of fame. What we are about to relate is an obscure transaction which has to be sought in the by-ways of history.

Two years after Becket had anathematized his enemies, a few ignorant men, to whom the names of Publicani and Telonarii are given, were apprehended at Vezelay on a charge of heresy. They were put to the torture, but nothing tangible being elicited they were remanded by the abbot to separate prisons. The clergy in alarm collected their whole strength to convert or crush this handful of poor Christian men. The archbishops of Lyons and Narbonne came to the monastery, with the bishops of Nevers, Laon and Nismes, and many abbots and learned theologians, and were occupied sixty days with the examination and judgment. The accused were pronounced guilty of denying

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madness, to cast him out from his home and consume his substance, to make his wife a widow and his children orphans and beggars; all things belonging to him were cursed, the dog which guarded him, and the cock which wakened him. None was to compassionate his sufferings or to relieve or visit him in sickness. Finally his dead body was to be cast aside for dogs and wolves and his soul to be tormented with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, Judas and Pilate, Ananias and Sapphira, Nero and Decius, Herod and Julian and Simon Magus, in everlasting fire."—*Book of the Church*, i. pp. 196–198.

everything but God; but this may mean no more than that they would not subscribe the errors which a faithless Church had engrafted on the truth. They were condemned for rejecting "the sacraments, infant-baptism, the Eucharist, the sign of the life-giving cross, holy water, consecrated churches," tithes and oblations, marriage, the monastic life and the priesthood. Two of them were disposed to recant, and were allowed the water ordeal. One passed through safe; the other case being more doubtful, the man was plunged again and condemned, to the general satisfaction. But the abbot having still some doubt, he was put to a death less tormenting than the flames. Then the abbot appealed to the assembly: "What, my brethren, think ye we ought to do with those who persevere in their obstinacy?" The whole assembly shouted: "Let them be burned! let them be burned!" Accordingly they were carried down, seven in number, to the neighbouring valley of Ecouan and burned.[1] We do not even know the names of these martyrs. A.D. 1167.

"They lived unknown
Till persecution dragged them into fame,
And chased them up to heaven. Their ashes flew
—No marble tells us whither. With their names
No bard embalms and sanctifies his song:
And history so warm on meaner themes
Is cold on this." [2]

[1] Milman, iv. pp. 180, 181; *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 296, 297.

[2] *The Task*, b. v.

Again, at Arras in Flanders in 1183, four heretics, called Paterini, after examination in the presence of the archbishop of Rheims and the count of Flanders, were committed to the flames. At a council held at Sens in 1198, the abbot of St. Martin in Nevers was deposed, and the dean of the cathedral suspended on an accusation of belonging to the sect of the Publicani.[1]

Persecution, however, in the unsystematic way in which it was then carried out, seems to have done little towards effecting its object. We find the archbishop of Narbonne complaining to Louis VII. towards the end of his long reign: "We are pressed with many calamities, among which there is one which most of all affects us, namely, that the Catholic faith is extremely shaken in this our diocese; and St. Peter's boat is so violently tossed by the waves that it is in danger of sinking." In 1178 a delegation of papal visitors describes Toulouse as "the abomination of desolation, where the heretics exercise the chief power over the people and lord it among the clergy." About the same year an edict cited by Hoveden speaks of the "heretics whom some call Cathari, others Publicani, others Paterini, as being on the increase in Gascony, Albi and other places, and no longer exercising their impiety in private, but stalking abroad." In like manner Stephen of

[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 297; Du Pin, x. p. 91.

Tournay, writing to John de Bellesmains bishop of Poictiers, 1181, to persuade him to accept the archbishopric of Lyons to which he had been elected, describes Languedoc, Gascony and Septimania (Roussillon) as countries where infidelity had taken root, and inconceivable treachery and trouble prevailed. "In my passage to Toulouse," he says, "whither the king sent me, I saw the walls of half-ruined churches and half-burnt monasteries, and where formerly stood the dwellings of men, now only the abode of wild beasts."[1] A.D. 1178-1198.

Thus before fifty years had elapsed from the date of Bernard's progress in Languedoc, the whole south of France may be said to have swarmed with Protestants, who in the next century received the general name of Albigenses.[2]

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[1] Allix, *Albigenses*, pp. 117, 118; Milman, iv. p. 179. To the same effect testifies the Troubadour who sang the destruction of the heretics: "This heresy, which the Lord cursed, had in its power the whole land from Béziers to Bordeaux."—*Croisade*, canto 2.

[2] The names under which the reformers were known were numerous. Cathari is Greek for Puritans; it was often corrupted into Gazari. Publicani or Poplicani is taken to be a corruption of Paulicani (Du Cange); and as the name so corrupted (our Publicans) is in the Latin Vulgate the equivalent of τελῶναι, the tax-farmers of the New Testament, the heretics were also called Telonarii. Poplicani was sometimes corrupted into Piphles. Bulgari (French, Bougres) plainly connects them with Bulgaria, part of the Balkan country colonized by the Paulicians. In Italy the usual designation was Paterini (otherwise Patellini), derived, according to Mosheim, from the name of a place where they held their meetings; according to others it signifies smooth and flattering hypocrites. Tisserands (weavers) has already been referred to. Some styled themselves Boni-Homines, in Provençal, Bos Homos (good men).—Mosheim, ii. p. 343, note; Elliott, ii. p. 266, note 4: p. 267, note 3; Gibbon, vii. p. 150, note; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 267.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

A similar movement was at work in Italy. Unhappily we know little of the men by whom it was carried on, or of the doctrine, manner of life and trials of the Churches which were gathered. The name chiefly known to history is associated with a political revolution. Arnold, a priest of Brescia in Lombardy, conceived the idea of bringing back the priestly order to the apostolic pattern. Not the luxury and debauchery of the clergy only, but their possession of worldly property, and their interference with secular business, seemed to him at variance with the teaching of the New Testament. Like the French Reformers, he held that worldly ecclesiastics were not only unfit to discharge the priestly functions, but were in fact not bishops or priests at all, and that the secularised Church was no longer the House of God. His life corresponded with his doctrines; he assumed the monastic garb, and lived in poverty and ascetic severity. Brescia and the Lombard cities in general were ripe for such teaching; his invectives against the pope and the bishops fell on his hearers like a spark on tow. His eloquence is described by Bernard as "sweet yet powerful, sharp as a sword yet soft as oil." The agitation spread to Rome. Pope Innocent II. hastened to interfere, and by a decree of the second Lateran Council, 1139, Arnold was condemned and banished from Italy. He fled to France and thence to the Alps, where he may have rekindled the embers still remaining of the

teaching of Claude of Turin three centuries before. The Church of the Waldenses has inscribed both these names in her spiritual genealogy. Bernard wrote to the pope to secure Arnold's person and to burn his books: but he remained unharmed in Switzerland five years, and then reappeared in Rome. The political agitation set going by his impassioned preaching had produced a revolution in that city. The people had thrown off both papal and imperial rule, and had reinstituted the ancient government by consuls. The Republic lasted ten years, at the end of which time its inherent weakness, and the combined power of the Emperor Frederic I. and Pope Adrian IV. caused its destruction. Arnold was given up to the authorities, and hanged at Rome by order of the prefect. His body was burned and his ashes thrown into the Tiber, lest his bones should be preserved as relics by the Romans who were devoted to him.[1] A.D. 1139-1207.

Later in the twelfth century we find Protestant doctrines making alarming progress, especially in the north of Italy. The head-quarters of the sectaries were at Milan. In 1199 a papal lieutenant was slain at Orvieto; and in 1207 Innocent III. went himself to Viterbo[2] to "sponge out the filthiness of the Paterini with which the city was

[1] Neander, vii. pp. 203–209, 223; Milman, iii. pp. 383–396, 410–414.

[2] Both these cities were within the papal dominions.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

violently infected." Warned of his approach, the Paterini fled. Search was made for all their harbourers, abettors and defenders; their houses were razed to the ground, their property seized, and unlimited power given to the city authorities to extinguish the heresy.[1]

Section IV. If now we look towards the Rhine we shall find the same tokens of religious fermentation. In the year in which Henry of Lausanne was put to death, 1147, Evervinus, provost of Steinfeld, near Cologne, wrote thus to Bernard: "There have been lately some heretics discovered amongst us, two of whom stood forth before an assembly, the lord archbishop himself and many of the nobility being present, and maintained their tenets from the words of Christ and the Apostles. But when they could proceed no further, they desired that a day might be appointed when they might bring more skilful advocates, promising if these should fail to return to the Church. Whereupon, after they had been admonished for three days, and were still unwilling to repent, the people, incited by overmuch zeal, seized upon them, and hurried them to the stake, where they perished. What is most wonderful in all this is, that they bore the flames not only with patience, but with joyfulness, so that I should be glad, holy father,

[1] Milman, iv. p. 170; Gieseler, iii. p. 409.

if thou couldst tell me how these members of the devil could exhibit a courage and constancy scarcely to be found in the most pious of the faithful." [1] A.D. 1147.

"These people," he continues, "assert that the Church is to be found with them only, because they alone tread in Christ's footsteps, and lead an apostolic life. 'We are Christ's poor,' they say; 'we have no certain abode, but flee from city to city, like the apostles and martyrs, enduring persecution; and this notwithstanding that we lead a holy life with fasting and abstinence, persevere day and night in prayers and labours, and from the world seek only what is necessary to preserve life. As for you, ye have peace with the world because ye are of the world.' That which we call the sacrament they stigmatize as a shadow and a mere tradition of men, but they themselves at their daily meals, according to the example of Christ and his Apostles, consecrate by the Lord's Prayer their meat and drink into the body and blood of Christ to nourish themselves therewith. Besides water-baptism, they baptize, so they pretend, with the Holy Ghost and fire, alleging the testimony of John the Baptist, and assert that every one of the elect has power to baptize and to consecrate at their meals the body and blood of Christ. In their diet they use neither meat nor

[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 282, 283; Neander, *St. Bernard*, p. 261.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

milk; they also condemn marriage, the reason of which I could not discover." [1]

Evervinus then proceeds to speak of another kind of heretics, through whose dissensions with the former both sects had been discovered. "These," he says, "deny that the body of Christ is laid on the altar, because the priests have lost the power of consecration. They reject infant-baptism as not requiring faith. Second marriages they look upon as adultery. They put no confidence in the intercession of the saints, nor in fasting and penance, because at whatsoever time a sinner repents his sins are forgiven; nor in the fire of purgatory, because souls, as soon as they leave the body, enter either into rest or punishment, as saith Solomon: 'In the place where the tree falleth, there shall it be.' Those who were burned told us their heresy had been hidden from the time of the ancient martyrs, and had been preserved in Greece and some other countries. We, therefore, holy father," he concludes, "entreat thee to use thy vigilance against these manifold mischiefs, and direct thy pen against these wild beasts of the reeds; not deeming it sufficient to answer us that the tower of David to which we may flee is fortified with bulwarks, that a thousand

[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 283, 284; Neander, *St. Bernard*, p. 260; Elliott, ii. pp. 286–288. Marriage by a Romish priest should probably be understood, for in the same account the wives of the heretics are spoken of.

bucklers hang on its walls, all shields of mighty men. For the sake of us who are simple and slow of understanding be pleased to gather all these arms into one place that they may be readily found, and mighty to resist these monsters. For those of them who have returned to the Church tell us that these people are everywhere to be found in great numbers, and amongst them are many of our clergy and monks." [1] A.D. 1147.

Bernard was just then writing his discourses on the Canticles, and in two of these, under the text, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vineyards" (ii. 15), he disposes of the heretics. "Inquire of them the author of their sect, and they will assign none. All other pests of this stamp have had their founders, and been called by their name; as the Manichæans from Manes, the Arians from Arius, the Nestorians from Nestorius; but this heresy has no title, for it is not derived from man, nor received through man (yet far be it from me to say that it came by the revelation of Jesus Christ), but from demons. That they are not convinced by reasons is because they understand them not, nor corrected by authority, because they acknowledge it not, nor influenced by persuasion, because they prefer death to conversion. I approve the zeal of those who were so ready to inflict the punishment, but I do not applaud the deed, because faith should spring from persuasion,

[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 285–287

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

not from force.[1] Yet is it unquestionably better that such should be restrained by the sword than be suffered to seduce others into their own error. . . . Those who wonder that the offenders went to execution, not with fortitude only, but as it appears even with joy, have not observed how great is the power of the devil over the hearts as well as the bodies of such as have given themselves up to him. The constancy of martyrs and the pertinacity of heretics have nothing in common; in the one it is the fruit of piety, in the other it is nothing but obduracy." The admission, however, which Bernard elsewhere makes outweighs all the reproach which he casts upon this despised people. "If you interrogate them respecting their faith, nothing can be more Christian; if as to their conversation, nothing can be more blameless; and what they say they confirm by their deeds. They attack no one, they circumvent no one, they defraud no one. Their faces are pale with fasting. They eat not the bread of idleness, but labour with their own hands. Where is now the fox? By their fruits ye shall know them. Women forsake their husbands, and husbands their wives, to join them; clergy and priests, quitting their people and their churches, are found among them, unshorn and unshaven, herding with weavers and spinsters." [2]

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[1] Fides suadenda est, non imponenda.

[2] *Sermons on the Canticles*, Op. ed. 1575, pp. 65, 66; *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 287–289; Jones, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. pp. 247, 248.

Tidings of the heresy and of the cruel death of its authors came to the ears of the pious Hildegarde. She was abbess of St. Rupert on the Rhine and highly esteemed in the Church.[1] Her judgment was that such offenders should be deprived of their goods and driven from the Church, but not put to death, for even they, she said, bear the image of God. Hildegarde's opinion represents the limit of toleration which the gentlest and most charitable spirits in that age were prepared to allow. Even Peter the Venerable would have found it hard to go further. The real temper of the time is seen in the reply which William of Paris made to the same reformers when they referred to our Lord's parable of the tares and the wheat. "Christ," so writes this dutiful son of papal Rome, "could not mean that the tares should be spared at the expense of the wheat. Whenever the ungodly increase to the injury of God's people they must be extirpated. It is true that those who belong to the tares may possibly be converted into wheat, but this is a matter of uncertainty; whereas that by their means the wheat is being A.D. 1147.

[1] Hildegarde was as bold as she was wise. The German clergy were at that time in a depraved condition; she thus addressed the ecclesiastics of Cologne: "By the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, which are the outpouring of the sacred fire of the Holy Spirit, ye should be the fathers of the Church; but ye are debased and fallen, being devoted to the pursuit of riches and all vanity. Under the pretence that you cannot attend to everything, you have abandoned the teaching of your people."—Neander, ibid., p. 328.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

changed into tares is a matter of perfect certainty. A few tares are sufficient to choke a large field of wheat. Very rare and difficult is it to convert a heretic, but very easy and common to subvert the faithful." [1]

The Cathari of whom these Cologne reformers were a branch are said further to have rejected the authority of tradition, priestly assumption, pilgrimages and the worship of saints and images, to have practised a rigid asceticism, and laid great stress on good works. Some denied the lawfulness of war, objected to capital punishment, and would admit of no other asseveration than a simple yea and nay. They were zealous in disseminating their principles, travelling from village to village, and from house to house. Frequenting as merchants fairs and markets, they used the intercourse of trade as a means of introducing their tenets. They did not despise learning, but sent their sons to Paris for education. A beautiful feature of their life was the close fellowship which subsisted between the members. As in the early days of Christianity, every stranger who brought from the brethren a letter of recommendation met with a hospitable reception; whilst a liberal collection was made for such as fell into indigence.[2]

A few years later, A.D. 1160, the same people

[1] Neander, viii. pp. 326–330. [2] Id., pp. 314–317, 320, 321.

are described by Eckbert, abbot of Schönauge in Trèves: "They are increased to such multitudes that the Church of God is in much danger. They are well-armed with passages of Holy Scripture. They boast that the true faith and worship of Christ is nowhere to be found but in their meetings, which they hold in cellars and weaving-rooms. In such underground dwellings they lead as they pretend the life of the apostles. They scoff at the ringing of bells, piously used in our churches, by which men are warned to pray for the dead and reminded of their own end. As for the mass they utterly contemn it, and they pretend that the blessed pope Sylvester [in the fourth century] was the Antichrist of whom Paul speaks, and that since his time the Church is dead." [1] A.D. circ. 1160.

In 1163 some Cathari (from Flanders), four men and one young girl, again ventured to approach Cologne, and took up their abode secretly in a barn near the city. But as they did not attend public worship on the Lord's day they were seized by the neighbours and brought before the priests. After a long examination, in which they steadfastly persisted in their doctrines and in their resolution not to conform to the Romish worship, they were excommunicated, and delivered over to the secular arm. Being led out of the city, they were committed to the flames, but through the

[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 292, 293.

compassion of the by-standers the girl was held back, in the hope that terrified by the torment of the others she might recant. Her ardour however seems to have been no less than theirs, for loosing herself by a sudden effort she sprang into the flames and was consumed.[1]

Section V. In 1160 a little band of zealous reformers came from Germany to England to preach the truth which they had learned. They were known under the name of Publicani; and the history of their unsuccessful mission is related by one of our monkish chroniclers, William of Newbury, who, full as he is of detestation for the heresy, is little aware how moving an appeal to posterity he is making on their behalf. Nothing in the annals of the martyrs is more touching than the patience, the undeserved suffering and pitiful death of these witnesses, obscure on earth, but crowned (we may believe) with everlasting glory on high.

"There were of these vagrants," writes the chronicler, "men and women over thirty. Dissembling their error they entered the country quietly, their object being the propagation of that pestilential heresy. Their leader, one Gerard, was in some small measure literate, the rest were evidently uninstructed and rustic. During their sojourn in

[1] Elliott, ii. p. 291, note.

England they added to their company one only, a woman, who was circumvented by their poisonous whisperings, and fascinated, so it is reported, by magical arts. They could not long be concealed. Inquiries concerning them were made by some persons out of curiosity, and being foreigners, they were apprehended and kept in public custody. A.D. 1160.

"The king, Henry II., unwilling either to dismiss or punish them without investigation, ordered a council of bishops to be assembled at Oxford. Before this council the accused answered through the mouth of him who was instructed amongst them, that they were Christians, and revered the doctrine of the Apostles. Being interrogated on the several articles of our sacred faith, they answered rightly indeed, concerning the nature of the heavenly Physician, but perversely concerning the remedies whereby he deigns to heal man's moral infirmity. For they spoke against the divine sacraments, expressing detestation of holy baptism, the Eucharist, and marriage; and wickedly derogating from the Catholic unity to which these divine aids belong. When they were pressed with arguments from holy Scripture, they answered that they believed as they had been taught, but were unwilling to dispute concerning their faith. Then being admonished to do penance, and be reunited to the body of the Church, they spurned that salutary counsel. The threats too which

were piously held up before them, in order that they might retract through fear—if through no other motive,—they treated with derision; absurdly applying to themselves those words of our Lord, 'Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' Then the bishops in order that the heretical poison might not spread, having publicly pronounced them heretics, delivered them over to the Catholic prince for the infliction of corporal punishment.

"Henry's sentence was that the mark of heretical infamy should be branded on their foreheads, and that they should be publicly beaten with rods out of the city, strictly enjoining that no one should presume either to receive them under his roof, or minister to them any consolation. The sentence having been proclaimed, they were led forth to that most just punishment, and they went rejoicing with light steps; their teacher going before them and singing, 'Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you.' To such a pitch had the spirit of seduction deceived them! The woman whom they had led astray, induced by fear of suffering, left them, confessed her error and obtained reconciliation. But the hateful company of heretics underwent the just penalty of being cauterized on their foreheads; their leader suffering the disgrace of a double branding, one on the forehead, and one round the chin. Further, their garments being cut down to

The last survivors of the *Publicani* at Oxford, A.D. 1160.

Designed and drawn by Edward Backhouse.

the girdle, they were publicly scourged, and with the sounding of the whip cast out of the city. After which, through the inclemency of the weather (for it was winter), and as no one showed them even the slightest act of compassion, they perished miserably." [1] A.D. 1160-1174.

Immediately after this took place, began that struggle for the mastery between Henry and Thomas à Becket, which ended in the murder of the archbishop, and embittered the remainder of the king's days. Henry's humiliation at Becket's shrine, which followed in 1174, is a very familiar incident in English history. He had used the whip on God's innocent and defenceless children, and now had to submit his bare body to the same instrument of shame and torture. Is the coincidence to be set down to mere accident? "Landing at Southampton, he there left his court and the mercenaries whom he had brought over, and set off on horseback with a few attendants for Canterbury. When he came within sight of its towers he dismounted, laid aside his garments, threw a coarse cloth over his shoulders, and proceeded to the city, which was three miles distant, barefoot, over the flinty road, so that in many places his steps were traced in blood. He reached the church trembling with emotion, and was led to the martyr's shrine; there, in the crypt, he

[1] William of Newbury, b. iii. c. 13; Elliott, ii. pp. 292–294.

Per. IV. Chap. 7.

threw himself prostrate before it with his arms extended, and remained in that posture as if in earnest prayer, while the bishop of London solemnly declared in his name that he had neither commanded nor advised, nor by any artifice contrived the death of Thomas à Becket, for the truth of which he appealed to God; but because his words, too inconsiderately spoken, had given occasion for the commission of that crime, he now voluntarily submitted himself to the discipline of the Church. The monks of the convent, eighty in number, and four bishops, abbots, and other clergy who were present, were provided each with a knotted cord; he bared his shoulders, and received five stripes from the prelates, three from every other hand. When this severe penance had been endured, he threw sackcloth over his bleeding shoulders and resumed his prayers, kneeling on the pavement; and not allowing a carpet to be spread beneath him: thus he continued all that day, and till the midnight bell tolled for matins. After that hour he visited all the altars of the church, prayed before the bodies of all the saints who were there deposited, then returned to his devotions at the shrine till daybreak. During this whole time he had neither eaten nor drunk; but now after assisting at mass, and assigning in addition to other gifts, forty pounds a year for tapers to burn perpetually before the martyr's tomb, he drank some water in which a portion of

Penance of King Henry II. at Becket's tomb.

Etched for Edward Backhouse by W. B. Scott.

Becket's blood was mingled. He then set off for London, where he found himself in a state incapable of exertion, and it was necessary to bleed him." [1] A.D. 1174.

[1] Southey's *Book of the Church*, i. pp. 259–261. The original of the familiar picture of Henry II. doing penance at Becket's tomb, seems to be a painting on an oak panel in Canterbury Cathedral, now almost effaced.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Waldenses.

Per. IV. Chap. 8.

The ground over which we have hitherto travelled in tracing the spread of the reformed doctrines has been very various. In some instances the clearer insight of the reformers into the nature of the New Covenant has been darkened by strange doubts respecting the authority of the Old Testament, and delusions regarding heavenly mysteries. In others an honest and well-founded testimony against the innumerable abuses of the Church has been weakened by an uncharitable and even anarchical spirit. We have indeed found many Protestants sound in doctrine and exemplary in life; but it is not until we come to the Waldenses that we meet with a united Church both holding a pure faith,[1] and animated by a charitable spirit.

Peter Waldo was a citizen of Lyons, who had become rich by usurious practices. One day whilst he was attending a civic assembly, one of the company suddenly expired. The event powerfully impressed him; the fate of his fellow-citizen

[1] "They disputed with the greatest acuteness against the Arian and Manichæan sectaries."—*Student's Eccles. Hist.*, ii. p. 601.

might at any time be his own. In this frame of mind his attention was arrested on a Sabbath (A.D. 1173) by hearing a troubadour in the streets of the city recite passages from a Romaunt called the Life of St. Alexis. Waldo took the minstrel home with him that he might hear the whole poem and converse with him on the momentous subject of the Christian life.[1] A.D. 1173.

The next morning he went to a priest of high reputation, to ask how he should attain to holiness. "If thou wouldst be perfect," was the answer, "go sell all thou hast and give to the poor." Waldo, who was prepared to make any sacrifice to obtain what he sought, obeyed the injunction to the letter. He converted his property into money for the use of the poor, fed all who came to him three days in the week, placed his two daughters in a convent, and publicly announced his intention to abandon the service of mammon for that of God. At the same time he invited his fellow-citizens to follow his example. His wife, alarmed at his conduct, entreated the archbishop of Lyons to put a check to her husband's imprudent zeal. Not even episcopal authority however could damp his ardour; he persevered in his life of self-denial, and was joined by a number of companions, who formed themselves into a fraternity under the name of the Poor Men of Lyons. A season of famine gave

[1] Elliott, ii. pp. 387, 388; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 314.

them ample opportunity, of which they eagerly availed themselves, for the exercise of compassion and charity.[1]

At first Waldo and his disciples were conspicuous only by the sanctity of their lives; soon however they began to attract notice by their censure of the rapacity and corrupt manners of the monks and clergy. To this grave cause of offence another was presently added. Longing to know more of the Scriptures than could be learnt from the Church lessons or from sermons, Waldo conceived the design of translating the Bible into the vernacular tongue, the Gallo-Provençal[2] idiom. With this object he obtained the assistance of three scholars—Bernard of Ydros, afterwards held in great estimation among the Dominican Friars; Stephen of Ansa, who was promoted to a benefice in Lyons; and John of Lugio, who became the head of a religious congregation in Lombardy. The last alone of the three remained faithful in after-time to the reformer. Stephen made the translation, which was revised by John, and transcribed by Bernard for the use of the copyists. The whole of the New Testament, the Psalms and many other books of the Old, were thus for the first time rendered accessible to the bulk of the people. At the same time Waldo made a collection of passages from the Fathers in illustration

[1] Id., pp. 314. 315.

[2] Or Gallo-Roman.

of Scripture, especially from Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great.[1] A.D. 1173-1179.

Taking with them the precious books which had thus been prepared, the master and his disciples went forth into the streets and houses of the city and into the neighbouring villages, everywhere declaring the Gospel message with ardour and success. In imitation of the seventy disciples they went two and two without staff or scrip, their feet being shod with wooden sandals.[2] In some few places the churches were opened to them by the clergy, more usually they preached and expounded in the streets and on the highways. The fears and jealousy of the priests could not suffer such a work to go on unhindered, and the archbishop of Lyons issued an order forbidding Waldo and his companions to expound the Scriptures or to preach. But the spirit of truth by which they were inspired was not thus to be silenced. Conscious of integrity, and willing to believe that reason and justice were still to be found in the Catholic Church, two of Waldo's followers made a journey to Rome (1179) to see Pope Alexander III. and solicit his approbation of their work.[3] They carried with

[1] Neander, viii. pp. 353-354; Gilly, cited in *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 316, 317.

[2] Kurtz, i. p. 439. In French, *Sabots*, Latin *Sabates*, whence they were called *Sabatati* (or *Insabatati*).—Ibid. Coming afterwards into greater freedom of spirit, they discarded these outward tokens of poverty and asceticism.

[3] Gilly says Waldo himself went to the pope, who "embraced him."—*Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 317, 318.

them their translation of the Bible. The pope received them graciously and expressed his approbation of their profession of voluntary poverty. The third Lateran Council was then in session, one of whose objects was the reformation of abuses in the Church. Waldo's petition was referred by the pope to the council, which after deliberating upon it appointed a commission to inquire into the tenets and objects of the fraternity.[1]

One of the commissioners, an Englishman, Walter Mapes,[2] has left notes of the conference. "These people," he says, "have no settled place of abode, but go about the country barefoot, two and two, clad in woollen garments; they possess no private property, but like the Apostles have all things in common." He describes them as "uneducated laymen with whom it was not worth while for the council to trouble itself;" but this was a mere affectation of contempt, since he evidently regarded them as a formidable power. "They have begun in a humble manner, because they had not yet acquired any firm footing, but if we once suffer them to gain an entry, we ourselves shall be driven out." The pope however did not think it wise to put his extinguisher upon the work, but granted to Waldo and his friends a

[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 317, 318; *Student's Eccles. Hist.*, ii. p. 600.

[2] He was canon of Salisbury, archdeacon of Oxford and some time chaplain to Henry II.

limited license to preach, subject to the control of the clergy.[1] A.D. 1179-1184.

Up to this time the conduct of the "Poor Men of Lyons" had afforded no ground for ecclesiastical censure; "they had acted only as dutiful sons of the Catholic Church. It was a monkish legend which led Waldo to forsake the world, it was to a priest that he went for spiritual counsel. He had placed his daughters in a convent, the volume which the Church professed to take as her rule of faith was his constant study, and his translators were members of the priestly order." So far was he from any purpose of forsaking the Church, or resisting authority, that for a time he and his followers forbore to preach except within the limits imposed by the pope. At length their zeal, quickened by the opposition of the clergy, who could not endure a fervour which shamed their own lukewarmness, could no longer be restrained. They threw off the shackles of ecclesiastical control, and declared the truth in the liberty of the Spirit; and when commanded to abstain altogether from preaching, they made the same answer as Peter and John before the council: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye."[2]

[1] Neander, viii. pp. 355–357; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 318. Milman adds: "Their knowledge of Scripture seems to have perplexed John of Salisbury [another English divine, made bishop of Chartres], who writes of them with the bitterness of a discomfited theologian."—Vol. iv. p. 183.

[2] Acts iv. 19.

Per. IV. Chap. 8.

Upon this they were reproached with presumptuously usurping the apostolic office, and threatened with the severest penalties. But they disregarded the menace, and in consequence by order of the archbishop of Lyons were deprived of the ordinances of religion and driven into exile. This sentence was followed at the Council of Verona in 1184,[1] under the presidency of Pope Lucius III., by a formal act of excommunication. "To quench the malignity of divers heresies, which of late time have sprung up in most parts of the world, . . . we declare all Cathari, Paterini, those who call themselves the Poor Men of Lyons [and others], to lie under a perpetual anathema. . . . We direct that every bishop, once or twice in the year, shall visit the parishes in which it is reported that heretics dwell, and there cause two or three men of good credit, or if need be the whole neighbourhood, to declare on oath if they know of any heretics in that place, or any that frequent private meetings, or differ from the common conversation of mankind."[2]

Before we follow the Lyons brotherhood in their exile, mention must be made of an attempt by a succeeding pope, Innocent III., to retain these ardent men within the pale of the Church. That sagacious pontiff endeavoured to transform the

[1] Or 1183.

[2] Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, pp. 257–259; *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 319, 320.

community into a monkish association of poor Catholics, to whom, subject to the control of the bishops, permission was to be granted to preach and expound the Scriptures. As Waldo and his followers looked upon oaths and the shedding of blood as unchristian, the pope made a show of conceding to them exemption both from judicial swearing and military service; but this exemption was rendered nugatory by the clause which was added: "So far as this may be done without prejudice or offence to any, and with the sanction of the secular rulers." It is not to be supposed however that any concession by the papal see would have brought Waldo's Gospel work within Romish lines. As it was there was little disposition on the part of the bishops to promote the pope's scheme.[1] A.D. 1184-1194.

Thus cast out of their native land, Waldo and his disciples spread themselves in all the countries around, Provence, Languedoc, France, Lombardy, Italy, Germany, England, and Spain.[2] Every-

[1] Kurtz, i. p. 439; Neander, viii. pp. 361, 362.

[2] *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 320. How great success they met with in the last-named country is shown by an edict of Ildefonso, King of Aragon, A.D. 1194. . . . "We do command and charge the Waldenses, Insabatati, otherwise called the Poor Men of Lyons, and all other heretics, who cannot be numbered, being excommunicate from the holy Church, to depart out of our dominions; and that whosoever shall presume to receive the said Waldenses or other heretics into their houses, and supply them with meat or any other succour, shall thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, as well as ours, and shall have his goods confiscated and be punished as if he were actually guilty of high treason. . . . Furthermore (though this may seem contrary to our duty and to reason), we grant to these wicked miscreants respite till the day after All Saints' day; but all who shall not be gone by that time, or at least preparing for their departure, shall

Per. IV. Chap. S.

where they found the soil prepared to receive the precious grain of truth. In some places doubtless the word which they preached came to the hearers like a new gospel. In others it was as a fertilizing shower falling upon seed sown by former generations, but long hid in the earth.

Peter for a while preached in Dauphiné, but the persecution was too hot to permit of his remaining so near Lyons; he fled northwards, and took refuge in Picardy. Here he gathered many followers, rich as well as poor; and his adherents became so numerous that the French king Philip Augustus, at the instigation of the clergy, sent an army against them. Three hundred country-houses of the gentry were demolished, several towns sacked, and the fugitives pursued into Flanders, where many of them were burned. From Picardy Waldo passed into Bohemia, where he was beyond the reach of the papal police. Here he founded a Church, sheltered and safe, which became so numerous that Reinerius Saccho, writing half a century after Waldo's death, speaks of forty-one societies in the diocese of Passau alone; and in 1315 the number of communicants was estimated at 80,000.[1] Of Waldo's last days and death no record has come down to us.

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be spoiled, beaten, cudgelled, and shamefully entreated."—Allix, pp. 261, 262.

[1] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 320, 353, 354. The French historian De Thou (A.D. circa 1600) tells us that the followers of Waldo were still extant in Bohemia in his day, and were called Picards.—Id., p. 321.

Reinerius, who was originally a Catharist, but became a tool of the papal inquisition, in his endeavour to blacken the memory of the Waldenses, unwittingly discloses the causes of their success. He admits the ignorance, immorality and profanity of the Romish clergy, and owns that the craftsmen amongst the heretics, after toiling all day, gave up the night to learning and teaching; and that many of them knew the whole of the New Testament by heart. In Provence and the cities of Lombardy there were he says more schools of heretics than of theologians; forty-one were counted within the bishopric of Pavia. They blasphemously taught, he tells us, that the Romish Church is the harlot of the Apocalypse and the pope the head of all error; that in the Eucharist transubstantiation does not take place in the hand of him who unworthily consecrates, but in the mouth of him who worthily receives; that the mass is a vain thing invented for the sake of gain; that there is no such state as purgatory, for as the tree falls there it shall be; and lastly, that whatsoever is taught that cannot be proved by Scripture is to be accounted false.[1] A.D. 1194-1315.

Still more valuable is the testimony of Inno-

[1] Id., pp. 354–357; Jones, *Eccles. Hist.*, ii. pp. 274, 275. Peterde Vaux-Cernay names as the four chief errors of the Waldenses, the wearing of sandals like the Apostles, the denial of the lawfulness of oaths, and of taking human life on any ground, and the assertion that any man without episcopal ordination "could make the body of Christ." Another opponent classes amongst their heresies the maxim that all lying is a mortal sin!—*Student's Eccles. Hist.*, ii. p. 603.

Per. IV. Chap. 8.

cent III. himself, in a letter addressed to the Christians of Metz, A.D. 1199. The archbishop had informed him that a large number of laymen and women presumed in their secret meetings to "belch out" to one another the gospels and other books of Scripture in the Gallic speech, and to preach by turns. The pope admits that the "desire to understand the divine Scriptures, and zeal in exhorting according to them, is not blameworthy but rather to be commended;" but censures the secrecy with which the heretics held their meetings, their assumption of the office of preaching, their mocking the "simplicity" of the priests, and their despising the fellowship of those who did not adopt their views. From another letter of the pope it appears that the archbishop had not accused them of any errors of faith or doctrine.[1]

Except in Bohemia, persecution everywhere tracked the steps of the Waldenses. Stephen of Bourbon relates that he was present in a certain place when eighty persons of this sect were condemned to the flames; and Alberic, in his chronicle, speaks of the immolation of 182 at one time, which he calls "a sacrifice well-pleasing to the Lord." Thirty-five perished in one fire at Bingen, at Mayence eighteen, and eighty at Strasburg.[2]

The branch of Waldo's followers which has attained the greatest historical celebrity is that

[1] Id., p. 602. [2] *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 321, 354.

which settled in the valleys of Piedmont. Here they became fused with an ancient Protestant community, of which we have several times in our survey caught a glimpse; and it is to the united Church thus formed that the name of Vaudois or Waldenses has been especially applied. Such seem to be the facts of the case, but it must be observed that the question of origin has been the subject of animated and protracted controversy, some writers contending that the Mountain Church of Piedmont had no existence prior to the immigration of the followers of Waldo; others that it dates from the time of Constantine the Great.[1] XII.-XIX. Cent.

The Waldenses themselves do not appear to share in either of the above opinions; they refer their origin to Claude of Turin.[2] In the year 1805, Napoleon Bonaparte went to Milan to place the iron crown of Lombardy on his own head; on his way, a deputation of the Vaudois clergy waited upon him at Turin with an address from their Church. Their speaker was M. Peyran, a man of learning and of a fine Christian character, who thus relates the interview.

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[1] "Confusion," remarks Gieseler, "has been introduced by both friend and foe into the history of the Waldenses. At first they were confounded with the Cathari or Albigenses by Catholics, in order to represent them as Manichæans; by reformed writers, in order to clear the Albigenses also from the charge of Manichæism. Further, the origin of the Waldenses is often referred to an earlier period than that of Peter Waldensus, though it is so clearly proved by the witness of contemporaries that he is the founder of the sect."—Vol. iii. pp. 411, 412.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 277, 281.

Per. IV. Chap. 8.

Addressing himself to M. Peyran in a tone of unusual condescension, Napoleon began:

You are one of the Protestant clergy of this country?

Peyran. Yes, sire; and moderator of the Vaudois Church.

Napoleon. You are schismatics from the Church of Rome?

Peyran. Not schismatics I hope, but separatists for conscience sake, on grounds which we hold to be Scriptural.

Napoleon. You have had brave men among you. But your mountains are your best defence. Cæsar found some trouble in making his way through your defiles with five legions. Is Arnaud's *Rentrée Glorieuse* accurate?[1]

Peyran. Yes, sire; but we believe that our people were aided by Divine Providence.

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[1] This refers to an episode in the great persecution of the Vaudois under Louis XIV. of France and their own sovereign, Duke Victor Amadeus II. The malign cruelty of the French general Catinat renders this transaction one of the foulest blots on the page of history. In 1689, 800 of the Piedmontese exiles who had taken refuge in Switzerland set out under one of their pastors, Henry Arnaud, to regain their native valleys, and in the course of their march heroically maintained their position against overwhelming numbers among the mountains of Angrogna, until the nefarious alliance between the king of France and the duke of Savoy was dissolved. The dissolution of this alliance was succeeded by hostilities between the two powers, and in the new turn which was thus given to affairs the faithful Vaudois, forgetting their wrongs, freely shed their blood in the service of Victor Amadeus. It is deplorable to relate that on the return of peace and his reinstatement to power, the duke suffered himself to become the tool of the pope and the French king, interdicting all communication between the Vaudois and the French Protestants, and expelling from the valleys 3000 of the latter, who had found an asylum there.—Monastier, *Vaudois Church*, cc. xxv., xxvi.

Napoleon. How long have you formed an independent Church? A.D. 1805.

Peyran. From the days of Claude, bishop of Turin, about the year 820.

Napoleon. What stipend have your clergy?

Peyran. We have no fixed stipend at present.

Napoleon. You used to have a pension from England?

Peyran. Yes, sire; the kings of Great Britain have always been our protectors and benefactors till recently.

Napoleon. How is that?

Peyran. The Royal pension has been withheld ever since we became your Majesty's subjects.

Napoleon. Are you organized? [1]

Peyran. No, sire.

Napoleon. Draw out a memorial; send it to Paris; you shall be organized immediately.[2]

Whatever may have been its precise origin, or the derivation of its name, it is certain that the Waldensian Church at the close of the twelfth century stands forth in the face of all Europe, as the foremost and clearest witness to the authority of the New Testament and the spiritual nature of the Gospel.

This Church possesses an early literature of

[1] A law for the organization of the Protestant Churches in France had been promulgated in 1802, but some years elapsed before it was completely carried out.

[2] Gilly, *Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piemont*, pp. 81, 82, 2nd edition; Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, ii. pp. 337, 338.

Per. IV. Chap. 8.

great value. The most important of these writings is *The Noble Lesson*,[1] a poem in the Romance language. It carries within it its own chronology: "The world has already completed a thousand and a hundred years." It has been the subject of much debate whether this reckoning is taken from the birth of Christ, or from the delivery of the Apocalypse. If the former, the poem clearly belongs to an earlier age than that of Waldo; if the latter, it may (it is argued) have been composed after that reformer's teaching had found its way into the Alps. But that its origin is earlier than the time of Waldo, seems to be proved by internal evidence. Whilst the *corruptions* of the Church are deplored, there is no protest against its *superstitions*. Fasting and almsgiving are recommended as meritorious works; auricular confession is approved, the service of the Virgin and of the saints acknow-

[1] A valuable collection of Waldensian manuscripts, including *The Noble Lesson*, was brought to England by Sir Samuel Morland, Cromwell's ambassador to the duke of Savoy (1650). Some days before Morland left England, archbishop Ussher sent for him to his chamber, and charged him to use his utmost diligence in inquiring after, and to spare no cost in purchasing such manuscripts and authentic documents as might throw light on the ancient doctrine and discipline of the Waldensian Churches; declaring "there was nothing in the world he was more curious and impatient to know as being a point of exceeding great weight and moment for stopping the mouths of popish adversaries, and discovering the footsteps of our religion in those dark intervals of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries." The manuscripts collected by Morland were bound in twenty-one volumes and deposited in the library of Cambridge University; unfortunately seven of the volumes have been lost, of a part only of which copies remain.—Elliott, ii. pp. 362, 363.

ledged, monasticism extolled, and the seven sacra- XII. Cent.
ments and the mass recognized. The grand difference between these earlier Waldenses and the Church of Rome is, that they were deeply impressed with the right and duty of every Christian to study the Scriptures for himself; that they panted for the pristine purity and simplicity of Christian life; and that they believed reverence to be due only to pious priests. In the Waldensian literature of the second period on the contrary, after the followers of Waldo had come amongst them, Rome is denounced as Babylon, the pope as anti-Christ, the worship of the saints as idolatry; whilst monasticism, indulgences, purgatory, the mass, and auricular confession are all condemned and rejected.[1]

The Noble Lesson, writes Milman, is "a remarkable work, from its calm almost unimpassioned simplicity. It is a brief spirited statement of the Biblical history of man, with nothing of fanatic exaggeration, nothing even of rude vehemence; it is the perfect clear morality of the Gospel. The close which arraigns the clergy has nothing of angry violence; it calmly expostulates against their persecutions, and its strongest sentence is an emphatic assertion that the power of absolving

[1] Kurtz, i. p. 440. A third era in their history, when they received the doctrine of justification by faith alone, commenced about the time of Huss, and was completed under the influence of the Reformers, especially of Zwingle and Calvin.—Id., p. 441.

Per. IV. Chap. 8.

from mortal sin is in neither cardinal, bishop, abbot, pope, but in God alone."[1]

The reader will be interested in a few passages.

"O brethren hear a noble lesson!
We ought often to watch and pray,
For we see the world is near its end.

* * * * * *

A thousand and a hundred years have been already completed,
Since it was written that we are in the last time.

* * * * * *

Whosoever will do good works
Ought to begin with paying honour to God the Father;
He ought likewise to call upon his glorious Son, the dear Son of holy Mary,
And on the Holy Ghost, who shows us the way.
These three are the holy Trinity, and the only God, who ought to be invoked,
Full of all power, all wisdom, and all goodness."[2]

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[1] *Latin Christianity*, iv. p. 185.

[2] "O frayre entendé una nobla Leyçon.
Sovent deven velhar e istar en oreson,
C. nos veen aquest mont esser presdel chavon.

* * * * * *

Ben ha mil e cent an compli entierament,
Que fo scripta lora, C. son al derier temp.

* * * * * *

M. çascuna persona que vol ben obrar,
Lonor de Dio lo payre deo esser al commençar.
E apelar en aina lo sio glorios filli car filli de Santa Maria,
E lo Sanct Sprit que nos don bona via.
Aquisti 3. la Sancta Trenità, enayma un Dio, devon esser aurà,
Plen de tota poysença, e de tota sapiença e de tota bontà."

—Morland, *History of the Churches of Piemont*, 1658, pp. 99, 100. Leger, *Histoire des Églises Vaudoises*, gives only extracts, and with considerable diversity of reading (pp. 26–30).

The author then gives a summary of the Old and New Testament history; after which he contrasts the two dispensations. XII. Cent.

The Ancient Law permits divorce;
But the New forbids to marry her who is put away,
[Saying] what God has joined let no man separate.
The Old Law cursed barrenness;
But the New counsels to keep virginity.
The Old Law forbids perjury only;
But the New says, Swear not at all,
And let thy speech be no more than yea and nay.
The Old Law commands to fight against enemies and render evil for evil;
But the New says, Avenge not thyself,
But leave vengeance to the heavenly king,
And let those live in peace who do thee harm;
And thou shalt find pardon with the heavenly king.
The Old Law says, Thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thy enemy;
But the New says, Thou shalt no more do this;
But love your enemies, and do good to those who hate you,
And pray for them who persecute you, and seek occasion against you;
That ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven.
The Old Law commands to punish malefactors;
But the New says, Pardon all people,
And thou shalt find pardon with the Father Almighty;
For if thou dost not pardon thou shalt not be saved.[1]

The author excuses the persecutors of the Apostles and early Christians, because they had

[1] Morland, pp. 108, 109.

Per. IV. Chap. 8.

not the faith of Jesus Christ, and contrasts with them those who in his day called themselves Christians, and yet were persecutors. The successors of the Apostles, he avers, had continued down to his time, but because of persecution were hardly able to show themselves. But, he continues, if any man will

Love those who are good, he will love God and honour Jesus Christ.
Such a one will neither curse, swear, nor lie;
He will neither commit adultery, nor kill, nor defraud his neighbour;
Nor avenge himself of his enemies.
Such a one is said to be a Waldensian [Vaudés] [1] and worthy to be punished;
And they find occasion by lies and deceit
To take from him that which he has gotten by his just labour.[2]

The following is the death-bed absolution referred to by Dean Milman:—

Let him take heed at the end he be not deceived.
When the mortal sickness arrives, death seizes on him, and he becomes almost speechless,
And he asks the priest to confess him.
But according to the Scripture he has too long delayed, which commands and says:

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[1] Monastier is of opinion that this word is not connected either with the name of Waldo, or with the Latin word *vallis* (or *vallis densa*), but is the Romance term for sorcerer.—*Vaudois Church*, pp. 53–60. May it not be however that the epithet was coined from the supposed arts of the heretics?

[2] Morland, pp. 113, 114.

Confess whilst thou hast time, and do not wait till the end.
The priest asks him if he has any sin:
Two or three words he answers and soon has finished.
The priest tells him he cannot be forgiven,
If he does not restore and make good amends for his wrong.
When he hears this he is greatly troubled,
And thinks with himself, if he restore entirely,
What will remain to his children, and what will the world say?
So he commands his children to examine their faults;
And buys of the priest his absolution.
Though he has a hundred pounds belonging to another and much more,
The priest acquits him for a hundred pence,
And it may be for less, if he can get no more;
Telling him a long story and promising him pardon,
That he will say mass for him and for his ancestors.
And thus he promises pardon to them,
Whether they be righteous or wicked;
Laying his hand upon their heads.
But when he leaves them he makes high cheer,
And gives him to understand he is very well absolved.[1]

But, concludes the poet,

I dare to say, and it is very true,
That all the popes who have been from Sylvester to the present,
And all the cardinals and all the bishops and all the abbots, all present together,
Have no power to absolve or pardon
Any creature one mortal sin.
Only God pardons, and no other can do so.[2]

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[1] Id., pp. 114, 115. [2] Id., p. 118.

The rekindling of the lamp of Gospel truth with so pure and bright a lustre in the valleys of Piedmont, stirred up the envy and malevolence of the priesthood. In 1198 at the instance of the bishop of Turin, the German Emperor Otho IV. issued a decree for the expulsion from the diocese of "the heretical Waldenses and all who sow the tares of falsehood." In 1220 a certain count Thomas and the magistrate of Pignerol made a joint order, "that whosoever should show hospitality to any Waldensian man or woman should pay a fine of ten solidi." It does not fall within our limits to trace the subsequent history of the Church. Persecutions, conflicts and scenes of massacre were witnessed in one valley or another by nearly every age from the year 1300 to the Reformation, and again from the Reformation to the close of the seventeenth century. The massacres of 1655 caused public fasts to be observed and collections to be made for the survivors, in Switzerland, Holland and England, induced Cromwell to offer the fugitives an asylum in Ireland, and drew from Milton one of his famous sonnets :

ON THE MASSACRE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN PIEDMONT.

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans

A.D. 1198–1655.

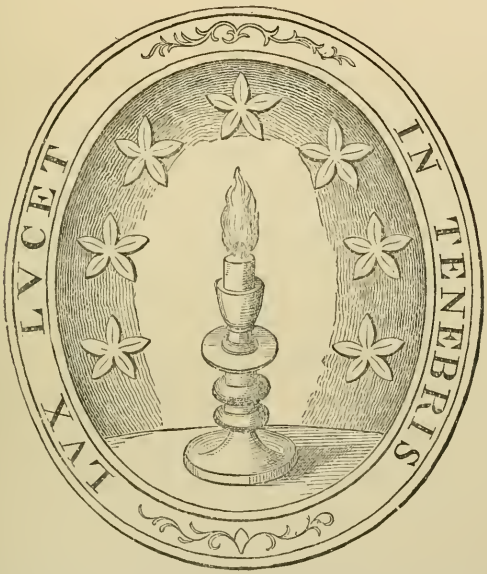
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To Heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred-fold, who, having learned thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian wo.

We have seen what Reinerius Saccho has to say respecting the doctrines of the Waldenses. His testimony to their manner of life is equally valuable. He describes the heretics under the general name of Cathari, but especially distinguishes the Leonists (Poor Men of Lyons). The date is the middle of the thirteenth century. "The Waldenses are older, more universal, more orthodox and more sanctimonious than any other. They are sedate and modest; they have no pride in clothes, wearing such as are neither costly nor mean. To avoid fraud and oaths, they eschew commerce and live by manual labour; even their teachers are shoemakers and weavers. They do not amass wealth, are temperate in meat and drink, avoid taverns and dances, and are of chaste life. They resort to a crafty device to gain the ear of the noble and great. In the guise of pedlars they carry about jewels and ornaments of dress which they show to ladies and gentlemen. When one of them has disposed of his rings and kerchiefs, and is asked, 'Hast thou anything more to sell,' he answers, 'I have jewels

Per. IV. Chap. 8.

more precious than these which I will show thee if thou wilt not betray me to the priests.' On receiving the required assurance, he says, 'I have a gem so brilliant, that by its light a man may see God; another which radiates such a flame as to kindle the love of God in the heart of its possessor,'—and so on. By these jewels he means passages of Holy Scripture in their several applications, and he begins to recite some of them; such as the Annunciation, or our Lord's discourse after washing his disciples' feet. Then when he sees his hearers are interested, he repeats the woes pronounced by Christ on the Pharisees; and if asked of whom these imprecations are to be understood, he answers, of the clergy and the monks. After which the heretic draws a comparison between the Romish Church and his own sect. . . . In prayer they are very reverent, kneeling in silence when they leave their beds in the morning, before and after noon-day, and at night. Before they eat they give thanks, the eldest of the company saying in their vernacular tongue: 'God who blessed the five loaves and the two fishes in the desert, bless this table and that which is upon it (then they all make the sign of the Cross), in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost.' And when they rise from table the eldest amongst them repeats the doxology, 'Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain, to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and glory, and blessing;'[1] adding,

'God plentifully reward all our benefactors; the God who hath given us food for the body, vouchsafe to us also the life of the Spirit, and be with us, and we with Him for ever!' All the company meanwhile raising their clasped hands towards heaven."[2] XIII. Cent.



The Waldensian Candlestick (*Convallium antiquissima Insignia*). *See* John i. 5. From Leger, *Histoire des Églises Évangeliques de Piémont.*

[1] Rev. v. 12.

[2] Elliott, ii. pp. 397–400; Neander, viii. pp. 360, 361; *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 298–302.

CHAPTER IX.

The Crusade against the Albigenses.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

Section I. The name Albigenses is not that of a sect, but is a generic term covering a wide group of Christian communities, spread over the whole south of France—Cathari, Paterini, Tisserands, Petro-brusians, Henricians, Boni-Homines, Waldenses; and it seems not to have been used prior to the Crusade of which we are about to speak. Some of these sects, as we have already seen, were the offspring of the Paulicians of Thrace, and clung to the Oriental theosophy and the practice of a severe asceticism; others were indigenous, and were of two kinds, those which were chiefly distinguished by their opposition to the Romish priesthood and superstitions; and those which, especially after the preaching of Waldo, upheld the part of sound Biblical reformers. From one cause or other the land teemed with Christian people in revolt against the ruling Church. The heresy was not confined to the lower or even the middle ranks. If not the princes themselves, yet in many instances their wives and families were deeply implicated in the religious insurrection.

In 1204 five of the most distinguished ladies of Provence were admitted into one of the ascetic fraternities.[1] XII. Cent.

Side by side with this religious life there flourished another life of a different kind. The nobles and knights of Languedoc and Provence were not less warlike, were more cultivated and perhaps more luxurious than any in Europe. It was a land of castles and tournaments, the very abode of chivalry, where counts and barons "vied with each other in splendour and gallantry. The count of Toulouse and his vassals had been amongst the most distinguished of the Crusaders, and had brought home many usages of Oriental luxury." It was too the land of song. The troubadours of Provence opened to Europe a new world of romance and poetry; in their lays they touched many themes, sacred and profane, but especially love, which they sang in voluptuous strains. Moreover the soil was fertile, the people industrious, the cities wealthy; earth could boast no fairer region.[2]

In 1198 there ascended the papal throne a learned ecclesiastic named Lothaire Conti, then aged thirty-seven years, who took the title of Innocent III. Rome has never seen an abler or more ambitious pontiff. "Pious and virtuous" in private life, his sole aim as pope was to make the papal see supreme over all Christian states, princes and people, and he sacrificed every Christian principle to this

[1] Milman, iv. pp. 174, 175, 194.

[2] Ibid., pp. 190–193.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

object.[1] He commenced his reign with this lofty assumption: "Ye see what manner of servant the Lord hath set over his people: the vicegerent of Christ, the successor of Peter. He stands between God and man; below God, above man; less than God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none, for it is written, 'I will judge.'" Innocent saw that so long as the south of France continued in a state of revolt the papacy itself was insecure. In the words of Sismondi, "Both from character and policy he came at once to the conclusion that no measures must be kept with the sectaries. If they were not crushed, if the whole race was not exterminated, and Christendom struck with terror, the mischief would spread, and the intellectual fermentation which was everywhere going on would involve the whole world in universal conflagration."[2]

In the very first year of his pontificate Innocent addressed a letter to the archbishops, bishops, princes and counts in the south of France, declaring the Cathari, Paterini, Waldenses and all

[1] "He was charitable to the poor who surrounded his palace, steeled against the wretch who deviated from his faith—generous in the profusion of his private expenditure, avaricious in the exactions which he levied for the apostolical treasury—humane in his mere social relations, merciless in the execution of his ecclesiastical projects—pious in the expressions of internal devotion, impious and blasphemous in his repeated profanation of the name of God and of the cross of Christ."—Waddington, ii. pp. 192, 193. To English readers he is best known as compelling King John to do penance and receive back his kingdom as a papal fief.

[2] Kurtz, i. p. 388; Milman, iv. p. 11; Sismondi, *Crusades against the Albigenses*, in the *Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 340, 341.

other heretics[1] to be outlaws, and calling upon the temporal lords to confiscate, banish and put to death all who should persist in their heresy. Spiritual indulgences, with the possession of the confiscated estates, were promised to all who should obey this mandate. At the same time he sent two Cistercian monks as his legates to see that these orders were carried into effect. But the lords of the great fiefs were not to be caught by either the spiritual or the temporal bait, and the pope's bull remained a dead letter.[2] A.D. 1198.

More drastic measures were required. The pope chose two other Cistercians, Peter of Castelnau, and Raoul, whom he invested with extraordinary powers, the whole episcopal authority in the provinces being transferred to them. They went first to Toulouse, and extorted from the count and the civic authorities an oath to expel the Boni-Homines from the land. Still nothing was actually done; "Toulouse the deceitful[3] went on in its calm tolerance." A third legate was now added, Arnold d'Amauri, abbot of Cîteaux, than whom no fitter tool could have been found for the work.

Thus reinforced the papal legates again set forth, and travelled through the land from city

[1] The pope acknowledges the works of love of the heretics, but ascribes these to dissimulation in order to obtain proselytes.—Milman, ibid. p. 194 note.

[2] Ib. pp. 193, 194, and note.

[3] *Tolosa, tota dolosa,* says the monk of Vaux-Cernay.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

to city with great pomp, their retinue in rich attire, and with a vast cavalcade of horses and sumpter mules. Wherever they came they admonished the heretics to return to the true Church, and exhorted the faithful to assist in compelling them. Their usual text was, "Who will rise up for me against the evil doers? Who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?"[1] And the sermon generally ended with these words, "You see, most dear brethren, how great the wickedness of the heretics is, and by what pious methods the Church labours to reclaim them. But these all prove ineffectual; therefore, though with great reluctance and grief, our holy mother the Church calls together against them the Christian army. If then you have any zeal for the faith, if any concern for the honour of God, if you would enjoy the benefit of this great indulgence, come and receive the sign of the cross and join yourselves to the army of the crucified Saviour."[2]

On their second circuit the legates fell in, near Montpellier, with the Spanish bishop of Osma in Castile, who was travelling northward. He was accompanied by Dominic, a Spaniard of noble family, who burned with hatred against the heretics. "The dejected legates bitterly mourned their want of success. 'How expect success with this secular

[1] Ps. xciv. 16.

[2] Milman, iv. p. 195; Jones, ii. pp. 278, 279.

pomp?' replied the severer Spaniards. 'Sow the good seed as the heretics sow the bad. Cast off those sumptuous robes, renounce those richly-caparisoned palfreys, go barefoot, without purse and scrip, like the Apostles; out-labour, out-fast, out-discipline these false teachers.' The Spaniards were not content with words only; the bishop of Osma and Dominic sent back their own horses, stripped themselves to the rudest monkish dress, and led the way on the spiritual campaign. The legates were constrained to follow."[1] A.D. 1198-1206.

But this new demonstration met with no better success than the former. The monks indeed, accustomed to the subtleties of the schools, often puzzled their opponents; but even this was far from being always the case. We have a note of one of these conferences, in which the legates were completely silenced. It took place at Montreal, near Carcassonne, in the year 1206. On this occasion the Albigenses challenged the Catholics to a public disputation on the errors of the Church of Rome. Many bishops and monks, including Peter of Castelnau, the bishop of Osma and Dominic, were present. Two noblemen and two commoners were chosen as arbitrators. It was agreed that the side which could not maintain its opinions by Scripture should be considered as vanquished. Arnold Hot, an Albigensian pastor, propounded

[1] Milman, iv. pp. 195 196.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

six theses: I. That the mass was not instituted by Christ or his Apostles. II. That transubstantiation is an invention of man, and an erroneous doctrine; and that the worship of the Host is manifest idolatry. III. That the Church of Rome is not the Spouse of Christ, but the Church of confusion, the mother of abomination, drunk with the blood of the saints. IV. That the prayers of the living are not profitable for the dead. V. That purgatory is a human invention devised to gratify the avarice of the priests. VI. That prayer ought not to be made to the saints. These propositions, or some of them, Arnold sent in writing to one of the bishops who demanded a fortnight to prepare his answer. On the appointed day the bishop appeared with a voluminous paper which was read. Arnold undertook to reply to it extempore, if the judges and the audience would give him time; so long a treatise he said would require a long answer. This was granted, and Arnold discoursed for several hours each day on four days in succession, and this with so much skill that his opponents would gladly have been elsewhere: for he made it evident that though the bishop had written much he had proved nothing. In conclusion, Arnold challenged his opponents to prove from Scripture that the mass was instituted by Christ and sung by his Apostles in the same manner as it was accustomed to be sung in the churches. This the bishops could not do, and Arnold followed up his

advantage by asserting that the Lord's Supper is not the mass. "If," said he, "the mass were the Lord's Supper, there would after the consecration be all there was before; but in your mass no bread is left, for by transubstantiation the bread has vanished; wherefore the mass cannot be the Lord's Supper, in which, as we all know, there is bread still. Jesus Christ brake bread, and Paul brake bread; but the priest breaks the body, not bread; wherefore the priest neither does what Jesus Christ did nor what St. Paul did." Upon this the monks, bishops, legates and priests rose up abruptly and left the assembly, fearful lest the faith of the audience in the mass should be altogether shaken.[1] A.D. 1206.

For eight years did the papal emissaries preach, dispute, and threaten in vain. "Why," they demanded of the Catholic inhabitants, "why do you not drive the heretics out of the country?" "We cannot," was the answer; "we have been brought up with them, they are our kindred; besides, we see the goodness of their lives." One resource still remained—the sword of the secular princes. Innocent, with malicious cunning, cast his eyes on the sovereign of the land as the fit executioner of the papal vengeance upon his own people.[2]

[1] Jones, ii. p. 279; Allix, *Albigenses*, pp. 155–158. Another disputation took place at Pamiers at the castle of the count of Foix, whose lady and one sister were Waldenses, whilst the other sister belonged to the Cathari. One of the ladies defended the heresy, on which the Catholic disputant said, "Go lady, spin your thread, it does not become you to meddle with such a matter as this."—Gieseler, iii. p. 424.

[2] Milman, iv. pp. 197, 198; Jones, ibid.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

Raymond, sixth count of Toulouse, was a "gay, voluptuous,[1] generous man, without strength of character enough to be either heretic or bigot." Some of his feudal lords, the king of Aragon, and himself were at war with one another. The legates peremptorily called on the belligerent parties to make peace and to combine their forces against the heretics. Raymond declined to obey the summons ; upon which Peter of Castelnau issued sentence of excommunication against him, and placed his territory under an interdict; and Innocent from his lofty seat addressed to him a letter "perhaps unexampled in the furious vehemence of its language. It had no superscription, for it was to a man under sentence of excommunication. 'If with the prophet, I could break through the wall[2] of thy heart, I would show thee all its abominations. . . . Who art thou, that when the illustrious king of Aragon and the other nobles, at the exhortation of our legates, have consented to terms of peace, alone looking for advantage in war, like a carrion bird preying on carcases refusest all entreaties ? Impious, cruel and direful tyrant, thou art so far gone in heretical pravity that thou hast said thou wouldst find a bishop of the heretics who would prove his faith to be better than that of the Catholics.'"[3]

The blow followed sharp upon the word. A

[1] He had three wives living at the same time.

[2] Ezek. viii. 7–9.

[3] Milman, iv. pp. 198–200.

papal letter was addressed to the king of France, A.D. 1208.
his nobles and all his Christian subjects, and to sundry other princes, commanding them to take up arms for the suppression of the heretics, and placing their lands whilst so engaged under the special protection of St. Peter and the pope. The estates and goods of the heretics were to be divided amongst those who should take part in this holy enterprise; the interest of their debts was to cease; and the same spiritual indulgence was to be granted them as for a crusade in the Holy Land. At the same time Peter of Castelnau secretly stirred up the lords of Languedoc against Raymond. The latter in alarm hastened to make peace with his enemies, by which act he fondly supposed himself to be delivered from the excommunication. "But the inexorable Peter stood before him, reproached him to his face with cowardice, accused him of perjury and of abetting heresy, and renewed the excommunication in all its plenitude."[1]

At this crisis (A.D. 1208) a deplorable event took place. The legates were crossing the Rhone when Peter of Castelnau was transfixed with a lance by a servant of Raymond and died almost instantly.[2] Suspicion naturally fell upon the count, but his innocence of the crime has been satisfactorily proved. The pope however at once

[1] Ibid., pp. 200, 201; Jones, ii. p. 282.

[2] He only lived long enough to breathe out, "God pardon them, as I pardon them."

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

assumed his guilt, and ordered his excommunication to be published throughout the provinces every Sunday and Holy-day; the only terms on which he could look for pardon being the expulsion of all heretics from his dominions. Innocent moreover seized the moment of public indignation at this crime to quicken the tardy zeal of the king of France and the princes. "Up, soldiers of Christ! Up, most Christian king! hear the cry of blood; aid us in wreaking vengeance on these malefactors."[1]

The command of the pope and his promises at last overcame all scruples. Political ambition, the appetite for plunder, the chivalrous passion for war and enterprise, were all called into activity, whilst the conquest of a wealthy country close at hand offered an easier way to win heaven than the long and costly journey to Palestine and a perilous warfare amongst its stony hills. From all parts of France knights and armed men assembled at Lyons in countless numbers.[2]

Hopeless of resisting so mighty a force, Raymond submitted. The terms of his pardon were cruel. After surrendering seven of his chief castles, "he was led, naked to the girdle, to the porch of the abbey-church [it was at Valence], and in the presence of the legates and twenty bishops, before the holy Eucharist, before certain relics and the

[1] Milman, iv. pp. 201–203.

[2] Ibid., pp. 204, 205.

wood of the true cross, with his hand upon the holy Gospels, he acknowledged the justice of his excommunication, and swore full allegiance to the pope and to his legate." Then with a rope round his neck, and scourged on his naked shoulders as he went, he was led past the tomb of the murdered Castelnau, up to the high altar, where he received absolution.[1] A.D. 1208.

But his relentless enemies were still unsatisfied; his humiliation was not yet complete. He himself must take up the cross against his own loyal subjects; "he must appear at the head, he must actually seem to direct the operations of the invading army;" for the war, so it was pretended, was not waged against the princes or people of Languedoc, but against the heretics. "Never in the history of man," such are Milman's words, "were the great eternal principles of justice, the faith of treaties, common humanity, so trampled under foot as in the Albigensian war. Never was war waged in which ambition, the consciousness of strength, rapacity, implacable hatred, and pitiless cruelty played a greater part. And throughout the war it cannot be disguised that it was not merely the army of the Church, but the Church itself in arms. Papal legates and the greatest prelates headed the host and mingled in all the horrors of the battle and the siege. In no instance did they interfere

[1] Ibid., pp. 206, 207.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

to arrest the massacre, in some cases urged it on." Arnold was the captain-general of the host. Fulk bishop of Toulouse, formerly a dissolute troubadour, and the deadly enemy of count Raymond, might be regarded as the second in command. The archbishops and bishops led the several armies in person. The head engineer was the archdeacon of Paris. Peter, monk of Vaux-Cernay, attendant on his uncle, the abbot of that monastery, was the historian of the crusade, and revels in all the deeds of blood. With him "the heretic was a beast of prey, to be slain wherever he might be found." The chief secular leaders were the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, the count of St. Pol, and Simon de Montfort.[1]

Section II. It does not belong to our purpose to follow in all its harrowing detail the course of the war. The historians of the time depict, in vivid colours, the march of the armed host, the siege and sack of towns and castles, the heroic defence of despairing garrisons, the massacres, the burnings, the endless barbarities. They do not however take us into the sanctuary. Who shall describe the terror which seized the Churches at the approach of the pitiless host? Who can count the tears and prayers which were poured out in secret,

[1] Ibid., pp. 207–209. This man, created Earl of Leicester by King John, was father to the Simon de Montfort who led the English barons against King Henry III.

day and night, in thousands of chambers; the trembling of the feeble-minded; the wrestling of the strong man that he might have faith to confess Christ in the presence of the sword, the gibbet, or the stake; the mortal shrinking of those who had a name to live and yet were dead? Or who shall tell how, when faith had fully laid hold of Christ, the peace of God flowed into the soul, lifting it above all the terrors of earth and hell? Some of the Churches, as we have seen, looking deeper into the Gospel than even Zwingle or Luther, held that Christ's disciple cannot use the sword. Were these faithful in the hour of trial? The perpetual din of arms, the shouts of triumph, the shrieks of woe, the cries of despair drown these gentler voices. History in this case, as in so many others, has filled her page with the coarser and the meaner, leaving the nobler and more spiritual traits to be revealed at the last day. A.D. 1209.

In the spring of 1209 the crusading army was put in motion. The first blow fell on the brave young viscount of Béziers, nephew to Raymond. Crowds of people from the surrounding country had taken refuge in the city. When the army arrived under its walls, the bishop, who had given to the legate the names of the suspected, exhorted the "faithful" to deliver these up, and so save themselves from ruin. "Tell the legate," was the noble reply of the Catholic citizens, "that rather than commit such baseness, we will devour our own children." The

city was stormed, and the inhabitants massacred. When the crusaders asked the abbot of Cîteaux, "Sir, how shall we do, we cannot distinguish between the good and the bad," he answered in the memorable words: "Kill all, God will know his own." At the same time he wrote to the pope: "We have spared neither rank, sex nor age; about 20,000 have perished by the sword; the whole city is spoilt and burnt, the divine vengeance wonderfully raging against it." In one church alone 7,000 were slain.[1] The viscount escaped and threw himself into Carcassonne, to which the crusaders now laid siege. Water failed, a pestilence broke out, and the unhappy town surrendered; most of the inhabitants were permitted to leave, and wandered amongst the woods and mountains in an utterly destitute condition. Four hundred however were burnt alive, and fifty hanged. The viscount was kept close prisoner and soon died, not without suspicion of being poisoned by order of Simon de Montfort.[2]

Now arose the question, to which of the victorious leaders the viscount's lands should be given, as "the first-fruits of the conquest." The duke of Burgundy disdainfully refused them, saying "he had plenty of domains and lordships, without taking what would disinherit the viscount

[1] "The city was reduced to a vast funeral pile; not a house remained standing, not one human being was left alive."—Jones, ii. pp. 287, 288.

[2] Ibid.; Gieseler, iii. p. 246.

of Béziers, to whom he thought they had done evil enough without despoiling him of his inheritance." His example was followed by the counts of Nevers and St. Pol, but Simon de Montfort had no such scruples. He accepted the proferred spoil, and was invested on the pope's authority with all the lands conquered or to be conquered during the Crusade.[1] A.D. 1209-1210.

Raymond had submitted: he was with the crusading army; but it was necessary for the reduction of Languedoc that he should be completely separated from the other feudal lords, and reduced to a cipher. The legates demanded of him the instant surrender of all heretics in his dominions, with all their possessions. The count in dismay appealed to the pope, and went himself to Rome. Innocent received him with smooth words, showed him the *Veronica*, permitting him to touch the face of the Lord,[2] and gave him absolution. Nevertheless he was to appear presently before a council in order to purge himself from the charge of

[1] Milman, iv. p. 212; Jones, ii. p. 291.

[2] *Veronica, vera icon*, true picture. In the Middle Ages there was a legend that the image of our Saviour existed on a sudarium or handkerchief which He pressed to his face on the way to Calvary. This legend was a source of great profit; Innocent granted a faculty to certain Roman artists to make and sell Veronicas or true pictures of Christ. A graft on the original legend made a woman named Veronica lend our Lord her handkerchief, and thus St. Veronica came to have a place in the Roman calendar. About A.D. 1316 Pope John XXII. gave his sanction to this more modern version of the story, and published a hymn of praise to the picture, with an indulgence of 10,000 days to those who devoutly used it! The Sudarium and the Veronica are still shown at St. Peter's.—Elliott, ii. p. 15, note.

abetting heresy. At the same time Innocent wrote to the legates: "We counsel you to use guile, as the Apostle Paul did. Leave for a time the count of Toulouse, employing towards him a wise dissimulation, that the other heretics may be the more easily defeated, and that afterwards we may crush him when he shall be left alone." [1]

Meanwhile the Crusade went forward. Five hundred castles and towns either surrendered without resistance, or yielded after a short siege. The defenders were massacred, hanged, burned or mutilated. Minerve, a fortress of great strength at the foot of the Cevennes, made a long and vigorous resistance; but provisions and water failed, and the garrison were forced to capitulate. One of the articles provided that such of the heretics as recanted should be spared. A fierce knight was indignant at such leniency! "Fear not," replied Arnold, who was himself vexed with the article, "they will be very few who will be spared." The crusaders marched into the castle singing the *Te Deum*. The Albigenses had assembled, the men in one house, the women in another, and on their knees in prayer, awaited the end. The abbot of Vaux-Cernay exhorted the men to return to the true Church. He was interrupted by a unanimous cry: "Your labour is in vain; we have renounced the Church of Rome; neither death nor life shall

[1] Milman, iv. pp. 213–215; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 344.

make us abandon our faith." He then proceeded to the women, whom he found equally resolute and more enthusiastic. Next came Simon de Montfort. He had raised a great pile of wood: pointing to it he said, "Return to the Catholic faith, or ascend that pile." No one moved. The pile was set on fire, until the whole square was filled with flame, and the heretics were marched out. One hundred and forty of the *Perfect*,[1] commending their souls to God, rushed of their own accord into the flames.[2] A.D. 1209-1210.

When the count of Toulouse offered to justify himself before the council (which met at St. Gilles), he found his enemies so utterly implacable that he burst into tears; upon which Theodisc, a canon sent by the pope to assist Arnold, mockingly cried out, "How great soever the flood of waters they will not reach to God." The terms proposed by the council were preposterous; compliance with them was impossible.[3] The count heard them with bitter laughter, and seeing that his utter ruin was resolved upon, quitted the town, and rode off to Toulouse to put himself at the head of his people. He was received with enthusiasm. This event changed the aspect, although not the character of the war. It was still the Church employing the secular arm for the extirpation of heresy; but it

[1] See *ante*, p. 431, note.

[2] Milman, iv. pp. 216, 217; Jones, ii. pp. 299-301.

[3] For the conditions, see Gieseler, iii. p. 427.

was also a prince and his people defending their lands and liberties against a foreign enemy.[1]

The war was carried on with undiminished fury. Before Lavaur, five leagues from Toulouse, the bishops and legates amid the horrible tumult of the siege stood chanting, "Come Holy Ghost!" The capture of this fortress was followed by a frightful carnage. The commander, with eighty nobles and knights, were brought before De Montfort. He ordered them to be hanged; the overloaded gibbets broke down, and the survivors were hewn in pieces. Geralda, the Lady of Lavaur, "from whose door no poor man was ever turned away," was thrown into a well, and huge stones rolled down upon her. Men, women and children were indiscriminately massacred; "after which," says the monk of Vaux-Cernay, "our pilgrims, collecting the innumerable heretics the castle contained, burned them alive with the utmost joy." In 1211, although the cities of Toulouse and Montauban were still uncaptured, De Montfort assumed the title of Sovereign Prince of Languedoc. At the same time, the legate Arnold was made archbishop and even duke (!) of Narbonne; the abbot of Vaux-Cernay received the bishopric of Carcassonne; and other monks wealthy benefices.[2]

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[1] Milman, iv. pp. 217–220. The French (in the annals of the period, Franks) were as much foreigners to the people of Provence and Languedoc as the English were to the Welsh before the reign of Edward I.

[2] Ibid. pp. 221–223; *Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 348.

A.D. 1210-1213.

But now complaints began to be made to the pope against De Montfort and Arnold: they had seized the lands of good Catholics, and amongst others some territory of the king of Aragon, who was related to Raymond, and supported his cause. At the same time Raymond offered to surrender his dominions in favour of his son, against whom there was no suspicion of heresy. The pope saw that the time had come to check the career of conquest; moreover he regarded the young Raymond with personal favour; but he found himself powerless to arrest or control the terrible engine he had set in motion. The churchmen of the Crusade would listen to no terms. In their reply to the pope's letter they exclaim: "Arm thyself with the zeal of Phinehas! annihilate Toulouse, that Sodom and Gomorrha, with all the wretches it contains; let not the tyrant, the heretic Raymond, nor even his young son, lift up his head; already more than half-crushed, crush them to the very uttermost." Innocent was forced to yield.[1]

In 1213 at Muret, Simon de Montfort totally defeated the combined forces of the king of Aragon, who was slain on the field, and Count Raymond. The city of Toulouse submitted, and was spared only because De Montfort was unwilling to destroy his newly-acquired capital. Its walls however, as well as those of Narbonne, were thrown down.

[1] Milman, iv. pp. 224, 225.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

At a council at Montpellier in 1215, De Montfort was formally invested with the "sovereignty of the whole land; all the native princes were deposed; and the ancient house of Toulouse, hitherto the greatest territorial principality in France, was stripped of everything." [1]

The same year the pope assembled the fourth Lateran Council, one of the largest ever held.[2] Its avowed objects were the correction of abuses and corrupt manners in the Church, the condemnation of heresy, and a new crusade against the Turks. In reference to the first, Innocent spoke out boldly in his opening address: "It is time, as the apostle saith, that judgment should begin at the House of God. The corruption that is in the world proceeds chiefly from the clergy!" Nevertheless this matter was soon suffered to drop. The third object was effected in the sixth crusade under Innocent's successor, Honorius III. The second, as we have seen, was in a fair way of being accomplished. But the council now made new and more stringent regulations, and decreed that "persons suspected of heresy, unless they can clear themselves, are to be smitten with the anathema and shunned by every one; and if they persist for a year in excommunication they are to be condemned

[1] Ibid., pp. 225–227.

[2] It was attended by seventy-one archbishops, four hundred and twelve bishops, eight hundred and sixty abbots or priors, besides princes and other laymen. So great was the concourse that the good bishop of Amalfi was suffocated in the throng.—Ibid., p. 228, note.

as heretics. The temporal lord who shall neglect to purge his land from heretical defilement is to be excommunicated, and after one year his territories are to be taken possession of by Catholics, who may sweep off the heretics and purify the faith. All who resist the decisions of the council are pronounced infamous, incapable of holding any public office, exercising civic rights, bequeathing property, or having heirs to their estates. In distress none are to show them pity; after death none are to give them Christian burial." The council then proceeded to dispose of the conquered provinces. Count Raymond was for ever excluded from the sovereignty of the land; but Provence, and some other fiefs yet unconquered, were to be reserved for his son, if when he came of age he should show himself obedient to the Church.[1] A.D. 1215.

The decree of the council regarding the sovereignty of Languedoc was not arrived at without strenuous resistance on the part of the princes who had lost their estates. The result was the renewal of the war. Raymond with his son again threw himself upon his people; many of the captured cities opened their gates to him, and De Montfort's party were driven out of Toulouse. But the Albigenses were not strong enough to hold the city; it was retaken by the crusaders, its fortresses demolished, and the inhabitants plundered

[1] Ibid., p. 228; Rule, *History of the Inquisition*, p. 16.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

to the last piece of cloth and last measure of meal. And although the patriots recovering heart the next year, once more drove the foreigners out of the city, they were unable to resist the papal armies. Innocent was dead, but Honorius carried on the work of extermination in a spirit even more relentless than his predecessor. A new crusade was preached, and De Montfort and the French lords again beleaguered the town (A.D. 1217). The abbot of Cîteaux harangued the army: "You are about to reconquer the city, to break into the houses, out of which no single soul, man nor woman, shall escape alive! not one shall be spared, in church, in sanctuary, in hospital! It is decided in the secret counsels of Rome that the deadly and consuming fire shall pass over it."[1]

"But the counsels of Rome were not those of Divine Providence." Simon de Montfort had constructed a moveable wooden tower called the Cat, which with its paw, an immense beam armed with iron hooks, laid hold of the walls. The besieged in a sortie got possession of the machine and were about to set fire to it. De Montfort was at mass when the news was brought to him. "Let me," he cried, "finish the service, and behold the sacrament of our redemption." Another messenger arrived: "Hasten to the rescue, our men can hold out no longer." "I will not stir," he

[1] Milman, iv. pp. 228–235.

answered, "until I have seen my Saviour." As soon as the priest lifted up the Host he exclaimed still kneeling, "Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." He then called for his arms, and putting himself at the head of his old warriors he once more repulsed the Toulousians. He was standing beside the Cat which he had recaptured, when an enormous stone thrown from the wall by a catapult struck him on the head and stretched him lifeless on the ground. The crusaders maintained the siege a month longer, after which time they were forced to abandon it.[1] A.D. 1216-1229.

A few years afterwards (1222) Raymond died, and being excommunicate, his body could not be buried in holy ground; it remained uninterred in the sacristy of the Knights Templars for 300 years. The war still lingered on, even after the heresy had to all appearance been stamped out; it was not until 1229 that peace was finally made.[2] The

[1] Ibid.; Jones, ii. pp. 306, 333; Waddington, ii. p. 189, note.

[2] "In this war," observes Sismondi, "the slaughter had been prodigious, the massacres universal, the terror profound. . . . Hundreds of villages had seen all their inhabitants butchered with a blind fury, without the crusaders giving themselves the trouble to examine whether they contained a single heretic. The crusading armies, said to have amounted at one time to 500,000 men, were undisciplined, without pay, and without magazines, and all the harvests of the peasants, all the provisions and merchandise of the citizens were rapaciously seized on every occasion. . . . There was scarcely a peasant in whose family some one had not been cut off by the sword of De Montfort's soldiers; not one but had repeatedly witnessed the ravaging of his property by them. More than three-fourths of the knights and landed proprietors had been spoiled of their castles and fiefs." —Quoted in *The Church in the Middle Ages*, pp. 348–350.

Pt. IV. Chap. 9.

younger count Raymond was permitted to receive absolution, but not before he had undergone the same cruel indignities as his father. "He rose from his knees, no longer sovereign of the south of France, but a vassal of limited dominions. His father on his penance renounced seven castles, the son, seven provinces." [1]

Amongst the sources from which this dark history is derived is the contemporary lay of a Provençal poet, entitled *History of the Crusade against the Albigensian Heretics*.[2] Its merit as a history is greater than as a poem, and its statements of facts are considered to be of equal authority with the prose chronicles of the time. The author was for the most part an eye-witness of what he relates. The effect at Rome of the news of Castelnau's murder is graphically described.

Cantos V.–VIII.

When the pope heard the news
That his legate had been slain, it fell heavy upon him.
But he restrained his rising anger,
And began to pray to St. James of Compostella,
And to St. Peter who is buried in the chapel of Rome.
When he had made his prayer he put out the taper,

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[1] Milman, iv. pp. 236–238.

[2] *Histoire de la Croisade contre les hérétiques Albigeois.* Écrite en vers Provençaux par un poëte contemporain. Traduite et publiée par M. C. Fauriel, Membre de l'Institut de France. Paris, 1837.—The original manuscript, which is unique, is in the National Library at Paris. It is embellished with thirteen drawings, mostly warlike, and appears to be of the second half of the thirteenth century.—Introduction, pp. ii, iii.

And there come to him brother Arnold, abbot of Cîteaux,
Master Milon speaking Latin,
And the twelve cardinals all in a circle.
The resolve was made by which this whirlwind was set in motion,
By which so many men were to perish, cleft asunder,
By which many a fair maiden and many a noble dame
Were to be left without robe or mantle.

* * * * * *

The abbot of Cîteaux, who had been sitting with his head down,
Rose and stood against a marble pillar,
And said to the pope, "By St. Martin, my lord,
We speak too many words and make too much noise.
Cause letters to be written in Latin
As it shall seem good to you,[1] and I will straightway set forth
To carry them into France and through the Limousin,
To Poictou, Auvergne, and as far as Perigord.
Proclaim indulgences through all these countries
As far as Constantinople and in every land."

* * * * * *

Whereupon the pope with a sad countenance
Answered, "Brother, go to Carcassonne,
And to Toulouse the great, which is on the Garonne,
You shall lead the host against the miscreant race.
Give to the faithful pardon for sins in the name of Jesus Christ,
And entreat them, exhort them from me
To drive the heretics from their midst."
Behold, the abbot prepares himself to set forth at the hour of Nones.[2]
He rides forth from the city at full spur.

* * * * * *

[1] Thus the plural number in addressing one person takes the place of the singular when we pass from the Latin language to the modern dialect.

[2] Three o'clock in the afternoon.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

He betakes himself to Cîteaux, where, according to custom,
All the monks in white robes and tonsured
Were assembled in full chapter,
At the feast of the Holy Cross which is kept there in summer.
In the presence of the whole monastery he chants the mass.
The mass finished, he begins to preach.
He tells them he brings the words of the council,
And shows to each the bull with the seals.
By him and others it is displayed everywhere
As far as Holy Christendom extends,
In France and in all the other kingdoms.
As soon as they hear of the pardon of their sins the people put on the cross;
And never I think was so great a host gathered
As this against the heretics and the Sabbati.[1]
The duke of Burgundy donned the cross;
The count of Nevers and many other lords.
I will not speak of the cost of the gold embroidery and silk for the crosses;
Which they wore on the right side of the breast.[2]
I take no count of their coats of mail,
Of their charges and their ensigns;
Or of their horses cased in iron;
God never made Latinist or clerk so learned
Who could reckon up the half or the third;
Or even write the names of the priests and the abbots
Assembled in the host under Béziers,
Outside the walls in the open country.

The sack of Béziers is described below. The "scoundrels" alluded to were a rabble of more than 15,000, barefooted, clad only in shirt and

[1] See *ante*, p. 487, note.

[2] In the Crusades against the Saracens the cross was worn on the shoulders.

hose, who followed the army for plunder, and were foremost in every desperate enterprise. The courtly troubadour who so admires the knightly crusaders, holds these irregular allies in the utmost scorn.

Cantos XXI., XXII.

* * * * * *

They slew even those who had taken refuge in the cathedral,
Nothing could save them, cross, crucifix, or altar;
The scoundrels, those madmen, those wretches, slew the clergy,
The women, the children; not one, I believe, escaped.
May God receive their souls if it please Him, in Paradise.
For never since the time of the Saracens, so fierce a carnage
Was, I think, conceived or executed.
Then the villains spread themselves through the houses,
Which they find overflowing with wealth.
But the French seeing this can scarce smother their rage,
With sticks they chase the scoundrels as if they were dogs,
And load the booty on their own steeds and pack-horses
Which are grazing without.
The chief of the scoundrels and his men,

* * * * * *

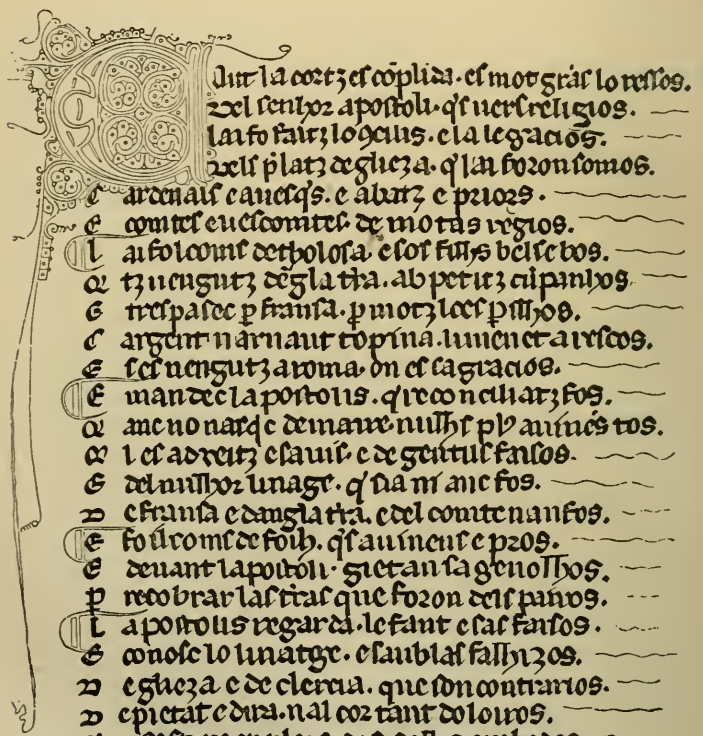
When they are thus spoiled by the French, raise a great shout,
"Fire, fire," cry the filthy bandits.
And see they bring great lighted torches.
They set fire to the city and the destruction spreads.
The city is wholly burnt, through and through.

* * * * * *

Burnt also was the cathedral, built by Master Gervais.
Through the fierceness of the flame it parted asunder in the midst,
And fell into two heaps.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

The poet is nowhere more graphic than in his narration of the debates in the Lateran Council on the appropriation of the conquered provinces. It opens with the lines which our artist has copied from the frontispiece of M. Fauriel's edition.[1] They are appended in Roman type with a translation.



Ans la cortz es cōplida · es mot grās lo ressos.
Del senhor apostoli · q̄s ver crelh e dios. —
La fo fait z lo gaus · e la legacios. ——
Ves plat z de glieza · q̄l la fo z on somos.
C arcamas e cavesq̄s · e abatz e prios · ——
E comtes e vescomtes · de motas regios. ——
L a fo lo comte de tholosa · e sos fills bels e bos. ——
Q̄ tz n engutz de glatra · ab pet rutz e lo pa n hos —
E tres passec p transa · p mot z locs p̄ll hos. ——
C argent n armant to pina · lun en et a ir ssos.
E les n engutz a roma · on es la gracios. ——
E man dec la postolis · q̄ re conciliatz fos. —
Q̄ me no n arq̄ de mauc · nulh s̄ p̄ auinc̄s tos.
Q̄ l es a dreitz e sauis · e de gentil fansos. ——
S del nulh z un agr · q̄ da m̄ amc fos. ——
D e fransa e d angla terra · e del comte nansos. —
E fo lz rom es de foih · q̄s auinc̄nt e prios. ——
E deuant la postoli · gic tan sa genollhos. —
P recobrar las terras que fo z on des̄ panos. —
L a postolis regarda · le fant e sas fansos. —
S conosc lo lunatge · e sa ublas fallhizos. ——
D e glieza e de clercia · que son contra nos. —
D epietat e dira · nal cor tant do lors. ——
Q̄ n sospira en ploza · de sos olhs am lz dos. ——

[1] In the original these lines are surmounted by a drawing of the Troubadour in a castle, book in hand, reciting his lay to a group of noble ladies and knights.

XIII. Cent.

Canto CXLIII.

Cant la cortz es complida es mot grans lo ressos
Del senhor Apostoli ques vers religios
Lai fo faitz lo concilis e la legacios
Dels prelatz de glieza que lai foron somos
Cardenals e avesques e abatz e priors
E comtes e ves comtes de motas regios
Lai fol coms de Tholosa e sos filhs bels e bos
Quez vengutz dEnglaterra ab petitz cumpanhos
E trespasec per Fransa per motz locs perilhos
Car gent nArnaut Topina li menet a rescos
E ses vengutz a Roma on es sagracios
E mandec lApostolis que reconciliatz fos
Quanc no nasquec de maire nulhs plus avinens tos
Quel es adreitz e savis e de gentils faisos
E del milhor linage que sia ni anc fos
De Fransa e dEnglaterra e del comte nAnfos
E fo il coms de Foih ques avinens e pros
E denant lApostoli gietans agenolhos
Per recobrar las terras que foron dels pairos
LApostolis regarda lefant e sas faisos
E conosc do linatge e saub las falhizos
De glieza e de clercia que son contrarios
De pietat e dira nal cor tant doloiros
Quen sospira en plora de sos olhs ambedos.

When the court is complete, great is the uproar,
[The court] of the lord pope, true chief of religion.
There was held the council and the assembly
Of the prelates of the Church, who had been all convoked;
Cardinals and bishops and abbots and priors,
And counts and viscounts of many lands.
There was the count of Toulouse and his son, fair and good,

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

Who had arrived from England with young companions,
Having traversed France through many dangerous places
Well and secretly guided by Arnold Topina.
He is arrived in Rome, the city of sacred things.
The pope is desirous he should be reconciled [to the Church;]
For never bore mother a child more comely,
More adroit, more sensible or of more engaging mien;
To say nothing of lineage, the most noble which is or has been,
In France, in England, or [in the domains] of count Alphonso.
The count de Foix was there also, comely and brave.
[The count of Toulouse and his son], throwing themselves on their knees before the pope
Beg again the lands which belonged to their fathers.
The pope looks upon the child and his [princely] bearing.
He is acquainted with his lineage, he knows the wrongs [he has suffered]
From the Church and the clergy, his enemies;
With pity and care his heart is so troubled,
That he sighs over them and weeps with both his eyes.

After sundry vehement harangues on both sides, the pope retires to deliberate.

The pope withdraws and betakes himself to a garden of the palace,
To dissipate his chagrin and recover his composure.
But the prelates of the Church wishing also to take their pastime,
Follow the pope and continue their quarrel in his presence.
They loudly and vehemently accuse the counts.
"If thou restore to the lords their land, we shall all be half-ruined:
We shall be safe and delivered if thou bestowest it on Simon."

"Barons," replies the pope, "take it not amiss that I reflect upon it."

Whereupon he opens a book in which he finds a *lot*,[1]

[By which he sees] that the count of Toulouse may return to power.

"Lords," then says the pope, "I am not in accord with you.

How without motive or reason should I commit so great a wrong

As to disinherit the [young] count who is a true Catholic?"[2]

SECTION III. The heretics had been exterminated or reduced to silence. Their public worship had ceased; their teachers had perished or escaped to foreign countries; the few faithful who survived preserved their lives only by burying the secret of their faith in their own bosoms, fearful even of communicating it to their children. But the root of the hated plant still remained in the earth, and whenever political occasion served, the proscribed came out of their hiding-places, to the dismay of the dominant Church. It was reserved for the *Inquisition*, that new engine which for half a century had been maturing, to put the finishing stroke to the work.

[1] Was it the Bible? asks Milman; the *Sortes Biblicæ* were not uncommon.—Vol. iv. p. 231, and note.

[2] The spirit of song was too free for the Inquisition; the troubadours were obliged to flee into other lands, and their language and poetry became extinct. About the year 1244 one of them sang: "Rome, thou art making a pastime of sending Christians to martyrdom; in what book hast thou read that Christians are to be exterminated? Like an enraged wild beast, thou hast devoured great and small; I console myself with the hope that thou shalt soon come to a bad end."—*Penny Cyclop.*, art. Troubadours; Gieseler, iii. p. 443.

During the war Dominic had founded at Toulouse an order of preachers for the defence of the Church against heretics. In 1216 the new order received the papal sanction, taking the name of its founder, and soon afterwards adopting the Franciscan rule of poverty became one of the great Mendicant orders.[1] Dominic was of a severe, enthusiastic and bigoted nature; he is said to have sanctioned all the barbarities of the war.[2] To his first band of preachers he added another corps, which he called Christ's Militia. These were all gentlemen, wearing a handsome court dress, and a sword which they were sworn to use against

[1] There were several other mendicant orders, the most famous of which was that of the Franciscans or Minor Friars. It was instituted about the same time as the Dominicans by Francis d'Assisi, an Italian, and had for its object the restoration of apostolic poverty and labour in strict obedience to the see of Rome. Francis was remarkable for susceptibility to religious impressions, and love to God and man. In him grace and self-mortification strove long for the mastery. Once whilst painfully ruminating on some scenes of his earlier life, the assurance of the forgiveness of all his sins flowed into his heart and filled him with joy, so that he is said for a time to have laid aside his austerities. But the mistaken notions of the age seem again to have prevailed, so that when one night he thought he heard a voice say, "There is not a sinner in the world whom God would not forgive if he turned to Him, but he who destroys himself by severe exercises of penance will never find mercy," he was unable to accept the lesson, and concluded it was the voice of the deceiver. Still later however truth again became uppermost; and he ceased to regard self-mortification as of any value in itself, but solely as a means to promote purity: love appeared to him to be the soul of all.—Neander, vii. pp. 375-379.

[2] The gravest charges of cruelty have been brought against Dominic, and they are supported by Roman Catholic authorities. (See an article by Southey in the *Quarterly Review*, Dec., 1811.) Milman however points out that these charges are not to be found in contemporary writers, but appear first in the Dominican authors of the next century, who to honour their leader, boast of his infuriate zeal in destroying the heretics.—Vol. iv. p. 253.

heretics. They were assisted by their wives, who were distinguished by a dress of mingled black and white.[1] A.D. 1229.

For a while the inquisition for heretics remained in the hands of the bishops. At a council held at Toulouse in 1229, statutes were framed for their direction in the duty of wiping out all lingering traces of heresy.[2] The bishops were to appoint a priest and two or three laymen of good repute in every parish, who should be sworn to search out heretics in houses, caverns and other hiding-places, and report them to the bishop, or to the lord of the place. The lords were required to make a similar search in villages, houses and woods; and if any lord should suffer a heretic to take refuge on his domain, he was to be himself punished. Houses wherein the guilty had found shelter were to be pulled down. Converted heretics were not to live in a village suspected of heresy; "and to show their detestation of their former error they were to wear two crosses, of a different colour from their dress, one on the right, the other on the left breast."[3] Persons "converted against their will" were to be

[1] Rule, pp. 21–23. These military brethren and sisters, because they were attached to the first *family* or order, yet not subject to its rule, were styled *familiares*, familiars, a name which afterwards became notorious in the history of the Inquisition.—Ibid.

[2] The acts of this council were foreshadowed by those of Tours, Lombers, Verona and the third Lateran, already referred to, and also by that of Avignon, A.D. 1209.

[3] The colour adopted was yellow.—Rule, p. 32.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

kept in perpetual imprisonment.[1] A list was to be made of the inhabitants in each parish. Every male over fourteen, and every female over twelve, was to swear that they utterly renounced heresy, and would persecute and inform against heretics. All who refused were to be written as suspected of heresy, as well as all who failed to confess and communicate three times in the year.[2]

The episcopal tribunal, being too tardy or too indulgent, was soon superseded by that of the Dominican Friars (afterwards appointed by Gregory IX.[3] to be the standing papal inquisitors). These active and zealous emissaries of the Church were untrammelled by custom, institutions, or public opinion, and subject to no authority but that of the pope. Finding the provisions of the Council of Toulouse insufficient for their hideous work, they invented new safeguards for the purity of the faith. The witnesses were now concealed from the accused, criminals were admitted to give evidence, confession was extorted by torture. In

[1] The condemned under this statute appear not to have been consigned to ordinary prisons; it is provided "that they be enclosed in the wall" (*in muro includantur*) in such a manner that they may have no power of corrupting others; and when they were brought up for judgment they were said to be brought "out of the wall" (*educti de muro*).—Id., p. 31, and note.

[2] Id., pp. 25, 26. This Council of Toulouse is also noted as being the first at which, by a formal enactment, the laity were forbidden to read the Holy Scriptures. Aged persons might possess a Latin Psalter, a breviary, or the Hours of the Virgin, but were strictly forbidden to have even these books in a translation into a vulgar tongue.—Ibid.

[3] 1241–1243.

the examination of the accused the interrogatories were framed like a net, from which, if there was the least shadow of suspicion, it was impossible to escape. So flagrant was the injustice thus perpetrated that in 1234, the year following that in which the new court was opened, the inhabitants of Narbonne rose against it, whilst in the next year the inquisitors were driven out of Toulouse, and in 1242 four of them were murdered in that city. But all was of no avail, the iron grip of the oppressor closed tighter and tighter upon its victims, and for many generations there was none to deliver.[1] A.D. 1229-1242.

The mode of procedure in these detestable courts is to be learned from a book of instructions still extant, compiled for the use of the inquisitors in Carcassonne and Toulouse. "The accused is to be sworn on the Gospels that he will fully declare all he knows of the crime of heresy, or *Vaudoisie*, as well concerning the living as the dead. If he conceals or denies anything, he is to be put in prison and kept there until he confesses; but if he tells the truth his confession is written down. When a sufficient number have confessed to make a 'sermon,'[2] the inquisitors convoke some jurisconsults, preachers, and the bishops, to whom they

[1] Gieseler, iii. pp. 432–434.

[2] What was afterwards called an *Auto-da-Fé* (Act of Faith) was at this time styled a General Sermon of Faith, because the proceedings of these gaol deliveries were opened by a sermon.—Rule, p. 29.

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

submit a short extract from the confession of each accused person, but without the name. The counsellors having considered the same, give sentence: Let this man perform penance; let the other be immured; a third is to be delivered over to the secular arm. The following Sunday the inquisitors summon the prisoners before them, class by class, and pronounce the sentences, first in Latin, then in French. Those who are delivered to the secular arm are not to be burned the same day."[1]

In order to reclaim as many as possible, other and secret instructions were at the same time given to the inquisitors. "He," thus commences this "Tractate," "who is most deeply sunk in heresy may sometimes be brought back by the hope of life, if he confess his errors and denounce others. If he refuses to do this, let him be shut up in prison and be told there are witnesses against him, and that if once convicted there will be no mercy for him. At the same time let his food be diminished, for fear and suffering will help to bring him down.[2] Let none approach him but two adroit believers, who cautiously, and as if they had compassion upon him, may advise him to confess, with promise of his life. Let them say to him, 'Be not afraid to confess, if thou hast believed in these men when they said such and such things.

[1] Jones, ii. pp. 349, 350.

[2] The devil, when he sought to overcome our Lord, made use of his exhausted condition after the forty days' fast.—See James, iii. 15, 17.

If thou hast listened to them, assisted them, or confessed to them, it was because thou loved all whom thou believed to be good people, and because thou knew nothing evil respecting them. The same might happen to men much wiser than thyself.' If he should begin to soften, and to admit that he has heard the teachers speak concerning the gospels or epistles, he must then be asked, but cautiously, if they denied Purgatory, or prayers for the dead, or what they had to say about the sacraments of the Church. He must be treated warily, for if questioned bluntly he will not answer, because he will suspect that you wish to take advantage of him. These are very subtle foxes, and you can only take them by subtlety. Note also that the inquisitor ought always to suppose a fact, and inquire only respecting the circumstances. For example, he should ask, 'How many times hast thou confessed thyself to the heretics,' or, 'in what chamber in thy house have heretics slept.' And when a heretic either does not make full confession, or does not accuse his accomplices, you must, in order to terrify him, say, 'We see how it is: think of thy soul, fully renounce thy heresy, for thou art about to die.' If then he says, 'Since I must die, I had rather die in my own faith,' then it is certain that his repentance is feigned, and he may be delivered up to justice.[1]"

[1] Jones, ii. pp. 351, 352. Augustine, though, alas, he gave his sanction to persecution, set his face against falsehood and treachery. Being asked

Per. IV. Chap. 9.

At length the tragedy was played out; the fruitful land had been turned into a desert; the heretical Church lay prostrate as one dead. It was as when the High Priests and the Roman governor joining hands, had crucified the Lord of life. He was laid in the tomb; a great stone was rolled to its mouth and sealed, and the watch was set. But Truth, like Him who took her name, is immortal. Hardly had the note of Gospel freedom died away in Languedoc, than it was taken up by Wicliffe in England, and after him by Huss in Bohemia, whilst in every age down to the Reformation a clear and continuous testimony issued from the mountains of Piedmont. Rome, it is true, flattered herself that the witnesses were at length slain, to rise no more. "As the sixteenth century opened," says Mosheim, "no danger seemed to threaten the Roman pontiff. The agitations excited in former centuries by the Waldenses, Albigenses, Beghards, and Bohemians, had been suppressed and extinguished by craft and the sword. The surviving remnant of the Waldenses lived hardly, pent up in the narrow limits of the Piedmontese valleys; the Bohemians through their weakness and ignorance could attempt nothing. . . . The bishops of Rome reigned secure and free from all fear, and

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whether it was not lawful to make use of lies to discover the Priscillianists who lied to conceal their error, he declared that the Catholics who feigned themselves Priscillianists were worse than the Priscillianists who feigned themselves Catholics.—Du Pin, iii. p. 183.

indulged their lusts and all their vicious propensities as freely as their innate depravity demanded."[1] They were like Belshazzar drinking at the feast when, lo, a strange handwriting appeared upon the wall. At the fifth Lateran Council, ninth session (1514), the preacher of the day exclaimed: "Now no one gainsayeth, there is none to oppose!"[2] and in the bull issued by Leo X. for its dissolution (March, 1517) he congratulates the council on having happily and successfully accomplished all the objects for which it had been called, amongst which was the *total extirpation of heresies*.[3] XIII.–XVI. Cent.

In the self-same year, at mid-day on the 31st of October, the eve of the festival of All Saints, an Augustinian monk named Martin, the son of

[1] Mosheim, iii. pp. 82–84. These popes were Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X. It is said that John Huss and his friend Jerome predicted the Reformation. Whilst in his dungeon at Constance, a few nights before his martyrdom, Huss "dreamed. It seemed as if some pictures of Christ, that he had been painting on the walls of his oratory, were effaced by the pope and the bishops. The dream afflicted him. But the next night he dreamed again, and seemed to see painters more in number, and with more of effect, restoring the pictures of Christ. He told the dream to his friends. 'I am no vain dreamer,' he said; 'but hold for certain that the image of Christ shall never be effaced. They wished to destroy it; but it shall be painted afresh in the hearts of gospel-preachers better than myself. And *awaking* as it were *from the dead*, and *rising from the grave*, I shall rejoice with exceeding great joy.'" His fellow-martyr Jerome even named the time, a hundred years to come. To his judges he said, "You are condemning me an innocent man, unjustly and wickedly; but I appeal to the most high and righteous judge—God Almighty, that within a hundred revolving years ye shall answer for it in his presence."—Elliott, ii. pp. 459, 460. Coram eo centum annis revolutis respondebitis mihi. Huss was burnt in 1415, Jerome of Prague in 1416.

[2] Jam nemo reclamat, nullus obsistit.

[3] Elliott, ii. pp. 445, 449, 450, 454, 455.

Hans Luther, and a professor in the university of Wittenberg, nailed with his own hand ninety-five theses on the outer pillars of the great church of that town.[1] The long dark night of apostacy was over. The day had dawned.

Conclusion. The office of the Church of Christ is to witness for Him, and this function was fulfilled in her early days when "with great power gave the apostles their witness," and when the servant followed his Lord in humility of life. But if we ask the question, how far has the outward Church maintained her witness, the answer furnished by these pages will be a sad one.

In our former work we saw that departures from primitive simplicity took place at a very early period of the Church's life. The establishment of Christianity by Constantine as the religion of the Empire brought new dangers. Whilst the stormy blasts of persecution had tended to preserve a pure and living faith, the sun of worldly prosperity favoured the growth of new corruptions, by which the witness of the Church to her Lord was continually obscured. The fourth century, rich as it is in churchmen of surpassing genius as well as piety, left the Church far more burdened by human inventions than before. In the dreary controversies of the two succeeding ages, it was as

[1] Michelet, *Life of Luther*, pp. 24, 25.

though the witness for Christ had fallen to a mere intellectual contention for his existence and attributes. The witness fell to a yet lower ebb during the long dark period which followed, a period in which monkery with all its accessories dominated the Church, and which saw also the rise and the palmy days of the papal power. The weight of tradition pressed ever more heavily upon the free spirit of the believer, whilst between the disciple and his Lord intervened a pretentious priesthood and an army of saints and virgins. When the Church had thus become degenerate and lost to her pristine duty, the doctrine of infallibility came in as a crowning sin to crystallize her deformity, and to cut off all hope of reform.

But the Lord "left not Himself without witness," and it has been the main purpose of these volumes to show how, from one age to another, men were visited and enlightened by the Spirit of Christ, and made ready to testify of Him. In some of these witnesses the truth was mixed with error: in many of them the professing Church saw nothing but "heresy," and invoked the powers of this world to put out the light they bore. Such were the early reformers of the fourth and ninth centuries, and such were those who from the eleventh century onward never suffered the torch of truth to be wholly quenched in Western Europe. An honoured place too must be given to the missionaries, such as Patrick and Anschar, who, although

their eyes were not opened to the corruptions of the professing Church, bore witness in their Christ-like lives to the love of their Saviour.

It is not unprofitable for us, nay, it is necessary for a just discernment of the present times, to enquire what were the by-paths on which the Church went astray, and how it came to pass that the witness she was called to bear became almost wholly lost. No one cause of her declension has been probably so potent as the setting-up of a priesthood. The Lord Jesus designed his Church to be a brotherhood,[1] and the only human priesthood mentioned in the New Testament is that of all believers. Jewish and pagan ideas, with the natural craving for distinction and rule, combined to establish an order of human mediators. From this grand mistake has flowed untold mischief and loss, both to the laity and to the clergy themselves. The life of the Church is the life of its individual members, and when these are resting, not upon the Saviour who bore their sins, but upon their fellow-men who "confess" them and absolve them,[2] upon rites and ceremonies apart from the worship of the heart, upon saints and angels, from

[1] Matt. xxiii., 8, 9.

[2] Philip II. of Spain is said to have sent the following to his confessor a few days before he died: "Father confessor! as you occupy the place of God, I protest to you that I will do everything you shall say to be necessary for my being saved; so that what I omit doing will be placed to your account, as I am ready to acquit myself of all that shall be ordered to me."—D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, ed. Routledge, p. 176.

the Virgin Mary downwards, then the life of the Church as the body of Christ is at an end.

Next to the priesthood, the ascetic element has had perhaps the largest share in destroying this spiritual life. It was early in the Church's history when the idea first took root, that man can lead a holier life by withdrawing from the world than by remaining in it. Fostered by the fourth-century Fathers, monachism became a great power, and during the dark ages it flourished like a fungus-growth upon the decaying Church. "The Son of Man came eating and drinking" and dwelling amongst his brethren, giving us in that holy and perfect life no ascetic example. It was a spirit alien to the Saviour's teaching which created the monastic system, in which the Rule of the Cloister took the place of personal holiness, and which thus struck a fatal blow at the responsibility of each disciple for a faithful life. It is true that Bernard and other monks bore a true witness for Christ, but this must not blind us to the errors of the system under which they lived, and which caused superstition to be mixed with their faith, and spiritual arrogance with their humility.

Throughout the period under review, the Church was intolerant of any departure from her doctrine or practice. It was the spirit of the self-willed disciples: "We forbad him because he followeth not with us." When her own days of persecution were over and she acquired power, the Church

became herself a persecutor. We can hardly err in connecting the fate of the North African Church with her pitiless treatment of the Donatists. It was in vain that some of her enlightened sons taught in a more Christ-like spirit.[1] The course once entered upon must be followed to the bitter end, until the cup of iniquity should be full.

The crowning error of the Romish Church is the claim of infallibility, a claim not merely presumptuous but self-ruinous; for it effectually closes the path of return to first principles, and every avenue to a purer and higher state. Whatever has been decreed and done (such is the pretension) is right. Has a priesthood more exacting than that of Levi been set up? Have rites and ceremonies been multiplied? These are irrevocable parts of the Church's fabric. Has the Bible been forbidden to the laity? Then it must always be forbidden. The worship of the saints and of Mary, and all the cumbrous system belonging to the latter, are fixed for ever. It was right in past centuries to burn heretics and to employ against them the detestable engine of the inquisition; then it is right now; it will be so again. There may be hope for all men and for all institutions, excepting only the "infallible;" for such there is none.

If then the records of the Church seem too often an "inventory of human error," of good marred by

[1] E. g., Athanasius: Waso of Liège.

abounding evil, we must still acknowledge with thankful hearts the work of the Providence of God. The Spirit of God has not failed even in the darkest times to raise up his Witnesses, and has preserved the light of truth throughout so long and devious a labyrinth.

" Heaven's light for ever shines; earth's shadows flee." The Witness for Christ, limited to no human Church system, is given to all those to bear, whatever they be called among men, who love his name and his appearing.

INDEX.

A.

Abbots, lordly state of, ii. 341
Abd-el-Melek, ii. 243
Abelard, his theological speculations, ii. 385; condemned by the Council of Soissons, 386; his theology contrasted with Bernard's, 387; before the synod of Sens, 391; appeals to the pope, 392; at Cluny, and death, 393; 454
Absolution, priestly, ii. 91, 499, 502
Abu-beker, ii. 232
Abu-Obeidah, ii. 232
Acacius, Syrian bishop, i. 192, 203, 214, 222
Acella, Roman lady, i. 271
Acre, ii. 416
Acta Sanctorum, i. 122 and n.
Adeodatus, Augustine's son, i. 315, 322
Adrian, abbot, ii. 203 n.
—— IV., pope, ii. 469
Adrianople, battle near, i. 89, 125
Adulatory letters to bishops, i. 284 n.
Aërius, i. 419, 444
Æsculapius, temple of, i. 371 n.
Africa, North, invaded by Vandals, i. 21, 353
Agata, S., church of, Ravenna, ii. 71
Agatha, S., convent of, ii. 301
Agilbert, bishop, ii. 174
Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, writes against image worship, ii. 282
Agricola, bishop, ii. 139
Aidan, sent into Northumbria, friendship with king Oswald, ii. 170; gospel journeys, 171; care for education, 172; observance of Easter, 172; Bede's eulogium, 173
Aix-la-Chapelle, ii. 60, 273 n.
Alans, i. 287, 417
Alaric, i. 22, 155, 172, 288: ii. 55, 70 n.
Alban, St., legend of, ii. 138
Alberic, abbot of Cîteaux, ii. 355
—— chronicler, ii. 494
Alberic of Ostia, ii. 454
Albi, ii. 453, 466
Albigenses, ii. 461 n., 467; 508, and *seq.*
Alboin, ii. 105
Alcuin, ii. 203; education, 272; removes to France and directs the Palatine school, 273; corrects the Vulgate, 273; at the court of Charles the Great, 274; on Scripture-study, 275; epitaph, 275 n.; opposed to image-worship, 276
Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, ii. 355 n.
Aldred, ii. 186, 190
Aldwin, monk, ii. 205
Aleander, ii. 434 n.
Alemanni, ii. 305
Aleppo, ii. 239, 241
Alexander of Hierapolis, ii. 21 n., 23
—— III., pope, ii. 457, 458 n., 487
—— VI., pope, ii. 546 n.
Alexandria, i. 16, 31; library of, ii. 239
Alexandrian school, i. 249: ii. 3
Alexis Comnenus, ii. 263, 266
——, Czar, i. 237 n.
—— St., romaunt of, ii. 485
Alford, dean, anecdote related by, ii. 439 n.
Alfred, king, ii. 203 n.
Alfrid, prince, ii. 173
Algar, earl, ii. 407
Alith, mother of Bernard, ii. 357
Alms-giving, i. 385, 441
Altars, i. 369: ii. 440, 446
Alypius, i. 309 and *seq.*
Amalasuntha, ii. 58, 70
Ambo, reading-desk, i. 189 n.
Ambrose, a consular magistrate, i. 154; bishop of Milan, 156; character of his rule, 157; discovers relics of martyrs, 158, 359 n., 398; *Ambrosian chant*, 159 and n.; melts the sacramental vessels, 160; opposes a pagan altar, 161; refuses to yield a church to Arians,

162, 163; prevails over Theodosuis, 164, 190 n.; protests against the massacre, 167; refuses to admit the emperor to the church, 168; prescribes his penance, 171; Theodosius commends his sons to his care, 172; death, 173; writings, 173; his hymns, 174; intercourse with Augustine, 312; on the use of flowers, 370 n.; on the Eucharist, 376; condemns Jovinian, 421; and Sarmatio, 425; 253 n., 316, 323, 367: ii. 487
Ambrosian basilica, Milan, i. 158, 169, 173 n.
Ammianus Marcellinus, i. 8, 14 n., 418
Ammonius, monk, i. 26, 206
Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, i. 21 n.
Amrou, ii. 239
Anacletus II., pope, ii. 377, 380
Anastasia, church, i. 95, 100
Anastasius, presbyter, ii. 6
Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, ii. 37
Andreas of Samosata, ii. 21 n.
Andrew, brother to Bernard, ii. 360
Anegray monastery, ii. 208
Angelo, St., castle of, ii. 113 n.
Annunciation, festival of, ii. 87
Anschar, ii. 282; early religious impressions, 283; visions, 283; removes to Germany, 286; missionary to the North, labours, &c., 286; humility, 287; death, 288
Anselm on the discipline of the stick, ii. 209 n.; the first of the Schoolmen, 385
Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, i. 76, 79
Anthony, hermit, i. 26 n.; life by Athanasius, 38, 317, 345 n.; 389 n.
Anthropo-morphite heresy, i. 205
Anthusa, mother to Chrysostom, i. 175, 177, 183
Antichrist, ii. 477, 499
Antioch, council of, i. 9, 113, 221; see of, i. 98, 263: ii. 239, 241
Antiochian school, ii. 3
Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemais, i. 203, 215, 222
Antiphonal singing, i. 159
Apameia, ii. 241
Apocryphal gospels, ii. 82
Apollinare in Classe, church, ii. 54, 61, 68
Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, heresy of, i. 73, 103; 181 n.; ii. 4, 21 n.
—— St., ii. 68
Apollonia, S., i. 389 n.
Apostolic see, ii. 131 n.
—— succession, i. 333 n., 339
Applause of preaching, i. 185, 187
Aquinas, Thomas, ii. 88, 136
Arabians, their learning, ii. 239 n.
Aragon, king of, 491 n., 516
Arcadius, emperor, i. 21 n., 172, 190 and *seq.*, 439
Archbishop, title of, i. 190 n.
Archimandrite, ii. 15 n.
Arefaste, ii. 435
Argæus, Mt., i. 43 n.
Arians, i. 6, 10; suppressed, 19; Athanasius' writings against, 35; upheld by Constantius, 59; and by Valens, 63, 81; Basil's conflict with, 88; in Constantinople, 94; Gregory Nazianzen's opinion of, 105; the Goths, 117, 124, 193. Ulfilas, 119, 130, 133; Scott on Teutonic Arianism, 126; Martin and, 138; at Milan, 155, 159 n, 163; their processions in Constantinople, 203; ii. 484 n.
Arianzus, i. 43, 44 n., 101
Ariminum, creed of, i. 11, 60, 120
Aristotle, i. 308: ii. 272
Armenia, i. 87: ii. 250, 261
Armorica, ii. 140
Arnaud, Waldensian pastor, ii. 496
Arnold, abbot of Cîteaux, ii. 511, 520 and *seq.*
—— of Brescia, ii. 454; his mission and eloquence, 468; flees to the Alps, 468; in Rome, 469; put to death, 469
—— Hot, Albigensian pastor, ii. 513
—— Topina, ii. 538
Arras, heretics of, ii. 439, 466
Arsacius, bishop of Constantinople, i. 226
Art in worship, ii. 73, 341
"Assumption" of the Virgin, ii. 80, 87
Astaulfus, ii. 58
Asti, ii. 433
Astrologers, i. 308
Asylum, right of, i. 195, 289 n.
Ataulfus, ii. 55
Athanaric, Gothic prince, i. 120
Athanasian creed, i. 35 n.: ii. 386
Athanasius, i. 6, 25; five times exiled, 26; introduces monachism

into Italy, 26, 264; attacked by night in his church, 31; returns, and is again exiled, 33; narrow escape, 33; death and character, 34; writings, 35; on the deity of Christ, 35; on persecution, 37; his life of Anthony, 38, 317, 345 n.; devotion to him, 60; joy at Basil's election, 67; appealed to by Basil, 88; on the Eucharist, 375; on virginity, 377; on fasting, 383; 258, 367, 390
Athens, i. 43, 46: ii. 97 n.
Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, i. 228
Attila, ii. 43 n.
Atto, bishop of Vercelli, ii. 432
Audius, i. 120
Augustine, bishop of Hippo, i. 25; letters, 90 n.; on truth, 181 n.; ii. 545 n.; on Anthropo-morphites, 205 n.; on the Scriptures, 248 n., 250 n.; attempts to reconcile Jerome with Rufinus, 281; correspondence with Jerome, 282; adulatory titles in his letters, 284 n.; letter to Jerome on translating the Bible, 293; opposed to Pelagius, 295; on Jerome's learning, 296; birth and education, 301; classical studies, 302; dissipated life at Carthage, 303; studies Cicero, becomes a Manichæan, 304; his mother's dream, 305; teaches rhetoric, 307; his knowledge of science, 308; recalls Alypius from the circus, 309; goes to Rome, deceiving his mother, 310; proceeds to Milan, 311; his intercourse with Ambrose, 312; essays an association of recluses, 314; his sins, becomes a Neo-Platonist, 315; is helped by Simplician, 316; and by Pontitianus, 317; mental struggles and conversion, 319; takes the vow of celibacy, and retires to Cassiacum, 322; baptized by Ambrose, 323; conversation with Monica on the kingdom of heaven, 323; his mother's illness and death, 325; returns to Africa and is ordained, 328; bishop of Hippo, 329; his manner of life, 329; on preaching, 330; fanciful comments on Scripture, 332 n.; labours to reclaim the Donatists, 333; on the One Catholic Church, 333 n.; promotes a conference at Carthage, 335; his charity, 335; leads the Catholic party at the conference, 336; confutes the Donatist view of the Church, 339; his approval of persecution, 340; refutes the Pelagians, 345; puts forth the canons of Carthage, independently of Rome, 347; his teaching, on original sin and predestination, 348; on free-will, 350; his attempts to define too much, 350 and n.; his own experience a key to his teaching, 351; his clear setting-forth of divine grace, 352; his last days, 353; lays hands on a sick child, 354; illness, seclusion, and death, 355; his genius and place in the Church, 356; compared with Origen, 356; on faith and understanding, 357; made no attempt to reform the Church, 358; his writings, *On the Trinity*, and *The City of God*, 360; on the memory, 362; on the heavenly city, 364; sentences from his works, 366 and n.; on the Eucharist, 375; on saint-worship, 393 n., 394; on relics, 397; treatise on marriage, 424; corresponds with Paulinus, 427, 432; 159, 173, 174, 253 n., 444; ii. 81, 103 n., 392, 398, 487.
Augustine, monk, letter of Gregory to, ii. 128; mission to Britain, 151; reception, 152; success, 153; bigotry, 157; conference with the British clergy, 160
Augustinian order, i. 329 n.
Augustus, emperor, ii. 50
Aureole, ii. 71 n.
Auto-da-Fé, ii. 439, 543 n.
Auxentius, Arian bishop of Dorostorus, i. 118. 127, 138
Ave-Maria, ii. 87
Avignon, ii. 454, 457; council of, 541 n.
Aymard, abbot of Cluny, ii. 328

B.

Babylon, i. 113
Balkan, ii. 263, 270
Bamborough Castle, ii. 170
Bangor, ii. 159, 161, 206
Baptism, deferred, i. 45, 176, 374; robes of, 236; Chrysostom, &c., on, 373; Jovinian on, 422; British usage, ii. 158; spiritual views on, 255, 264, 430–479 *passim*

Baptismal vow, ii. 225
Baptisteries, i. 374 n.; ii. 59, 62
Barbara, S., monastery, ii. 306 n.
Barbarian nations, irruption of, i. 22, 287: ii. 43 n., 96, 103, 105
Barbatianus, i. 425
Baronius on the tenth century, ii. 427
Barsumas, abbot, ii. 31
Bartholomew, brother to Bernard, ii. 360
Basil, father of Basil the Great, 41
—— the Great, parentage and childhood, i. 41; taught by Libanius, 43; at Athens, 43; friendship with Gregory, 46; and with Julian, 47; abandons the world, 48; visits Egypt and Syria, 49; visits Gregory, 51; decides to found a monastery, 51; his description of the spot, 53; his severe rule, 54; studies Origen, 57; his labours in Pontus, 59; upholds orthodoxy, 60; offends Julian, 60 and n.; ordained priest, 62; deceives Gregory, 66; elected bishop of Cæsarea, 67; reconciled to his uncle, 69; visited by Ephrem, 71; his preaching, 72; contest with Anthimus, 76; compels the two Gregorys, 77; encounter with the Emperor Valens, 81; receives him in the church, 85; exile frustrated, 86; labours, despite weak health, 87; charge of heterodoxy, 87 and n.; on the Arians, 88; death and funeral, 89; appearance, character and writings, 90 and n.; on the love of God, 91; letter to Julius Soranus, 122; on tradition, 297; on baptism, 373; on virginity, 378; orations on martyrs, 389; sends relics, 398; on the Church, 413; 25, 144, 156, 253 n., 258, 280, 328, 367; ii. 103 n.
—— I., Emperor, ii. 251, 262
Basiliscus, Emperor, ii. 46
Basilius, Bogomile leader, ii. 266, 268
——, friend to Chrysostom, i. 176, 180
Bear, manuscript eaten by a, ii. 307 n.; Gallus and the, 313
Becket, Thomas à., ii. 416; anathematizes his enemies at Vezelay, 462; Henry II.'s penance at his shrine, 481
Bede, on the ravages of the Saxons, ii. 140; his education, abbot of Jarrow, 198; manner of life, and last days, 199; learning, 203; homilies, 204
Beghards, ii. 546.
Belisarius, ii. 47, 58
Bellarmine, Cardinal, i. 389 n.
Bells, i. 428 n.: ii. 440, 477
Benedict of Nursia, ii. 93; sent to Rome, 94; a hermit, 95; miracles, 96; founds Monte Casino, his rule, 97; visited by Totila, 103; visits his sister Scholastica, 104; death, 105; visions, 106, 327, 336
—— Biscop: *see* Biscop.
—— the Jew, ii. 415
Benignus, ii. 146
——, St., Dijon, ii. 358
Benjamin, monk, i. 402 n.
Berengar, ii. 385, 441, 442 n.
Bernard, i. 173; on the Immaculate Conception, ii. 88; friendship with Peter the Venerable, 336, 344; attempts to recover Robert, 337; attacks Cluny and the rich monasteries, 338; letters, 344; seal, 347; birth and youthful character, 358; influence of his mother's teaching, conversion, 359; becomes monk and persuades his relations to join him, 360; enters Cîteaux, 361; insatiable craving after spiritual life, and extreme austerities, 362; device to keep out the world, 363; finds "tongues in trees," meditations on the sufferings of Christ, 363; quits Cîteaux, 364, 369; founds Clairvaux, 369; his faith, 370; ordained abbot, 372; obliged to reside outside the monastery, 372; indifference to his body, 373; condemns his irrational austerities, 374; his power over men, 375; espouses the cause of Pope Innocent II., 377; interview with Henry I. of England, 377; accompanies Innocent into Italy, 378; rebuilds Clairvaux, 379; arrogant treatment of Count William of Aquitaine, 380; entertains Archbishop Malachy, 383; his theology contrasted with Abelard's, 387; appeals to Europe against Abelard, 390; on the iniquities of Rome, 393; reconciles the nobles with the burghers of Metz, 396; last illness and death, 397; Luther's eulogium on him, 399; personal appearance, 399; his bible, 401 n.; opposes Henry of Lausanne, 453;

preaches the second Crusade, 461; discourse against the heretics, 468, 473
Bernard of Morlaix, ii. 400 n.
—— of Ydros, ii. 486
Bernhard, abbot of St. Gall, ii. 315
Berno, abbot of Cluny, ii. 327
Bertha, Queen, ii. 152
Bethlehem, Jerome settles at, i. 273; manner of life at, 276; fugitives from Rome at, 290; assault of Pelagian monks, 295: ii. 237
Béziers, sack of, ii. 521, 534
Billfrith, ii. 186, 190
Bingen, ii. 494
Birgitta, S., ii. 89
Birthdays of saints, i. 370
Biscop founds the Abbey of Monkwearmouth, ii. 191; and of Jarrow, 195
Bishops, election of, i. 64; honour paid to, 284 n.; Augustine on, 329; worthy, 418
Bishops Waltham, ii. 418
Black Virgin, ii. 89
Blesilla, daughter to Paula, i. 266, 268, 270
Blood, objection to the shedding of, ii. 259, 456, 476, 491: *see* Life, human
Bobbio, monastery, ii. 214
Boethius, ii. 57
Bogomiles, their doctrines and persecution, ii. 266; extend into Bosnia, 269; persecuted there, 270; sepulchres, 271 n., 433
Bohemia, ii. 492, 546
Bollandists, i. 389 n.
Bologna, ii. 89
Bonaven, ii. 141
Bonaventura, ii. 84
Boniface, missionary, ii. 216; bishop of the Germans, 218; zeal and success, 219; receives help from England, 220; opposes Irish missionaries, 221; complains of heathenish practices at Rome, 223; archbishop of Mainz, 223; last mission and death, 224
—— I., pope, ii. 130
—— IV., i. 387; ii. 211
—— VIII., ii. 131 n.
—— Roman count, i. 353
Boni Homines, ii. 459, 467 n., 508, 511
Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, ii. 81
Books, scarcity of, ii. 306
Bordeaux, synod at, i. 145
Borri on Buddhism, i. 404
Bosham, ii. 177
Bosnia, ii. 269
Bossuet, i. 341
Brahminical Asceticism, i. 382 n., 400
Braithwaite, J. B., on the death of Paula, i. 286; on Jerome's lament for Rome, 289
Bregenz, ii. 213 n.
Brescia, ii. 468
Brethren, The Tall, i. 27, 205
Britain, i. 251 n.; ii. 138 and *seqq.*
British slaves in Rome, ii. 150
Britons, i. 277: ii. 140, 163
Brunehaut, ii. 212
Bruno, founder of the Carthusians, ii. 354 n.
Büchhorn, ii. 320
Buddhism, i. 401
Bulgarians, ii. 458, 467 n.
Bull fights, i. 24 n.
Burchard of St. Gall, ii. 320; his romantic birth, 321; his delicacy, elected abbot, 322
Burgundians, i. 23
Burgundy, duke of, ii. 357, 359, 392 n., 520, 522, 534
Bury St. Edmunds, see Edmundsbury
Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, i. 398

C.

Cæcilian, bishop, i. 337
Cædmon, his metrical bible, ii. 178
death, 180
Caerleon, ii. 163
Cæsarea, Cappadocia, i. 42, 61, 65, 229
—— in Palestine, ii. 239
——, Ravenna, ii. 50
Cæsarius, i. 93
Calixtus II., pope, ii. 332
Calvin, ii. 92 n.; 499 n.
Candidian, Count, ii. 11
Candlemas, ii. 87
Canterbury, ii. 152, 416, 481, 483 n.
Canute, ii. 413
Capital punishment: *see* Life, human
Carbeas, a Paulician, ii. 262
Carcassonne, ii. 522, 533, 543
Cardinal, Roman, ii. 332
Caroline Books, ii. 276
Carthage, council of, i. 295, 334: ii. 130; conference at, i. 335
Carthusians, ii. 348, 354 n.
Cassiacum, i. 322
Cassianus, John, i. 407; ii. 94

Cassiodorus, ii. 99, 203 n.
Castelnau, see Peter
Catechumens, i. 368
Cathari, ii. 429 and *seq.*
Catherine of Siena, ii. 89
Catholic, i. 20 n.
Celcyth, council of, ii. 177 n.
Celestine, bishop of Rome, ii. 9
Celibacy, i. 322, 376, 420, 440; ii. 433, 434 n., 440, 449; and see Virginity.
Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, ii. 383
Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, ii. 195; his farewell, 197
Chalcedon, council of, i. 190 n.; ii. 38; creed, 40
Chalcis, desert of, i. 261
Châlons, council of, ii. 280 n.; 393, 442
Charlemagne, see Charles the Great.
Charles the Fat, emperor, ii. 307, 314
Charles the Great, ii. 60; his Palatine school, 273; pupil to Alcium, 274; opposed to image-worship, 276
Charles Martel, ii. 220
Charroux, council of, ii. 441
Châtillon, ii. 358, 361
Chartreuse, la Grande, ii. 354 n.
Chichester, ii. 177 n.
Chosroes I., ii. 241
—— II., ii. 232, 241
Christian, Eligius' description of a good, ii. 296 n.
Christotokos, ii. 7
Chrysocheir, ii. 262
Chrysostom, on monkish priests, i. 57 n.; on elections of bishops, 64 n.; birth and parentage, 175; practises law, 176; baptized, 177; dissuaded by his mother from monkish life, 177; his ascetic habits, 178; artifice with Basilius, 179; providential escape, 182; enters a monastery, 183; his hermit life, 184; presbyter at Antioch, 185; on pulpit oratory, 187; *homilies on the statues*, 188; bishop of Constantinople, 190; his reforms, 192; work among the Goths, 193; shelters Eutropius, 194; translates martyr's relics, 199; corrects abuses in Asia Minor, 200: homily on "Jezebel," 200; affection for Olympias, 202; counteracts Arians, 204; receives the Tall Brethren, 207; treatment by Theophilus of Alexandria, 210; is summoned before the synod of the oak, 211; farewell address, 212; reply to the synod, 214; charges against him, 215, 385 n.; sentenced to banishment, 216; his recall, and triumphant return, 217; homily on "Herodias," 220; persists in attending church, 222; ejected by force, 223; banishment decreed, 224; surrenders himself, 225; appeals to the Western Church, 227; is hurried across Asia Minor, 229; sufferings at Cæsarea, 230; perils at night, 231; reaches Cucusus, and continues his care for the Churches, 232; hemmed in by brigands for one winter, 233; is transferred to Pityus, 234: his pitiless guards, 234; reaches Comana, 235; death, burial, and translation of body, 236; person, genius, and writings, 237; on the priesthood, 238; on the eucharist, 240, 242; on good works, 243; on the reward of sufferings, 244; character of his letters, 244 n.; on worship, 245; on tolerance, 246; on the debt of love to our fellows, 247; his commentaries, 248; on reading the Bible, 249; on sin, and repentance, 252; on prayer, 253; on salvation by Christ, 254; on thanksgiving, 255; Isaac Taylor on his character, 255; on baptism, 373; on virginity, 378; on fasting, 383; on almsgiving, 385; on saint worship, 392; on relics, 399; on the state of the Church, 413; on the theatre, 414; on oaths, 415 n.; 25, 114 n., 275 n., 446; on Mary, ii. 80; on purgatory, 135 n.
Church, Augustine's view of the, i. 333; Donatist view, 339; Church traditions, 357; maturity of the Church, 367; relation to the world, 413; and State, ii. 154
Churches (buildings), i. 368, 371; at Nola, 428; ii. 440, 445, 465
Cicero, i. 259, 298, 304; ii. 272
Circumcelliones, i. 341 n.
Circus, see Gladiators and Theatre.
Cistercians, ii. 348, 354, 366, 511
Cîteaux, Abbey, ii. 336; foundation, 352; in danger of extinction, 355; rescued, 357; Bernard enters, 361; rapid and prodigious increase, 364; decline, 366; remains of, 368; 534

City of God, The, i. 360, 364
Clairvaux, abbey, ii. 336; dissension with Cluny, 337; foundation, 369; struggles, 370; visit of the Abbot of St. Thierry to, 373; of Pope Innocent II., 377; return of Bernard to, 378; rebuilt, 379; visits of Malachy to, 382; magnificence, 400; resists reform, confiscated and made a prison, 401
Clarendon, constitutions of, ii. 462
Classical Studies, Jerome's vision on, i. 258, 274; in schools, 302; ii. 347
Classis, Ravenna, ii. 50
Claude of Turin, ii. 277; opposed to image-worship, 278; on the adoration of the Cross, 279; on pilgrimages, 280; his evangelical teaching, 281; 432 n., 469, 497
Cleanliness, Jerome on, i. 275, 401; Paulinus on, 431
Clement of Alexandria, i. 253, 381, ii. 347
—— Irish missionary, ii. 221
Clotaire II., ii. 296 n.
Clovis, i. 117 n.
Cluniacs, li. 338, 354
Cluny, abbey, ii. 326; foundation and strict rule, 327; splendour, 332; dissension with Clairvaux, 337; magnificent church, 341; learning, art, and religious decline, 348; destroyed, 349; remains, 351
Codex Argentus, i. 129
Cœlestius, Irish monk, i. 346
Coifi, chief priest, ii. 166
Colman, bishop, ii. 173; at the synod of Whitby, 174; returns to Scotland, 175
Cologne, heretics of, ii. 470, 477
Columba, ii. 148
Columbanus, ii. 206; in Gaul, 207; his faith, 207; his *rule*, 106, 208; his influence over men, 210; independent spirit, 211; boldness in rebuking sin, 212; proceeds to Switzerland, 213; and to Italy, 214; decay of his *rule*, 327
Comana, i. 235
Comgall, abbot, ii. 206
Commendam, abbots *in*, ii. 366
Compline, ii. 99 n.
Confession, auricular, i. 253, ii 90, 459, 499
Confessions of Augustine, i. 301 and *seq.*; 360
Consolamentum, ii. 431 n. 458
Constans, emperor, 1, 6, 27, 30
Constantia, queen of France, ii. 435, 437
Constantine Chrysomalos, monk, ii. 268
—— Copronymus, emperor, ii. 263, 428
—— the Great, i. 4, 23, 118, 225, 274 n., 374; ii. 395
—— II., i. 6
—— founder of the Paulicians, his dualism, ii. 251; labours, 252; death, 253
—— Pogonatus, emperor, ii. 252
Constantinople, Councils of, i. 19, 97, 115, 133, 221; contests between Arians and Orthodox, 94; Church corrupted, 228; liturgy, 241 n.; public worship in, 368
Constantius, emperor, i. 6, 27, 59, 120, 161, 219 n., 438
—— husband of Galla Placidia, ii. 55, 64
Conti, Lothaire, see Innocent III.
Corbie, abbey, ii. 283, 285
Corvey, ii. 286
Cosmas, monk, i. 35 n.; ii. 243
——, patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 269
Covenant, Old and New, ii. 425, 501
Coverdale on confession, ii. 92
Cowper, quoted, ii. 465
Craloch, abbot of St. Gall, ii. 320
Crediton, ii. 217
Crescentius, Roman usurper, ii. 298
Cromwell, ii. 498 n.
Cross, adoration of the, ii. 255, 265 279, 445, 465
——, badge of the, ii. 461, 534 and n.
——, banner of the, ii. 448
——, sign of the, ii. 434, 465, 503
"Cross True," i. 112
Crowland monastery, ii. 403; foundation, 405; rebuilt, 406; story of by Ingulphus, 407; remains of, 412
Crucifixes, ii. 306 n.
Crusades, ii. 238, 461
Cucusus, i. 229 and *seq.*
Cuthbert, abbot of Jarrow, ii. 199
—— —— bishop of Lindisfarne, ii. 182; his missionary work and asceticism, 183; death, 184 miracles, 185
Cyprian, i. 144, 337, 415; ii. 394
Cyril of Alexandria, i. 18 n., 284 n.; ii. 4; homily on the nature of Christ, 8; writes to Celestine

against Nestorius, 9; sends formulas of anathema to Nestorius, 10; presides at the Council of Ephesus, 12; incites Dalmatius against Nestorius, 16; makes a compromise with John of Antioch, 21; death, 27; character, 28 and n.; on the Virgin Mary, 82
Cyril of Jerusalem, i. 25 n.: ii. 285 n.

D.

Dagan, bishop, ii. 172 n.
Dagobert, king of the Franks, ii. 296 n.
Dalmatius, archimandrite, ii. 15
Damasus, bishop of Rome, i. 64 n., 145, 271, 291, 418
Danes, ii. 203, 205, 407, 411, 413
Daniel, bishop of Winchester, ii. 221
——, pillar-saint, i. 412
Dante, quoted, ii. 52, 326
Dauphiné, ii. 446, 456, 492
Dead, prayers for the, i. 325; ii. 445, 453, 514
Decretals, i. 420 n.; ii. 130
——, forged, ii. 131
Deer in St. Paul's church, ii. 155 n.
Defamation in preaching, i. 201
Defensor, bishop, i. 139
Demophilus, Arian bishop of Constantinople, i. 95
Demosthenes, imperial cook, i. 82, 85, 110
Denmark, Christianity in, ii. 286
Dennis, monk, ii. 416, 419
Desiderius, i. 436
Diemudis, ii. 308
Dijon, ii. 352, 357 n., 361
Dinooth, abbot, ii. 159
Diocletian persecution, i. 337 n.
Diodorus of Tarsus, i. 249; ii. 4
Dionysius Exiguus, ii. 159 n.
Dio-petes, ii. 14 n.
Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, ii. 27, and *seq.*
Divine honours to emperors, i. 219
Divorce, Fabiola's penance for, i. 279
Dokkum, ii. 224
Domenichino, i. 296 n.
Dominic, ii. 512; meets the legates, founds an order of preachers, 540; character, 540
Dominican friars, ii. 88, 103 n., 106 540, 542
Donatist sect, Augustine's labours to win them back, i. 333; conference at Carthage, 335; views of the true Church, 339; condemned and persecuted, 340, 353; protest against coercion, 343; ii. 433
Donatus, i. 257
Dorotheus, monk, i. 402 n.
Druids, ii. 146, 382 n.
Dungalus, ii. 281 n.
Du Pin on Sulpicius, i. 151 n.; on Jovinian and Vigilantius, 447 n.
Durham, ii. 171 n.; see of, 184 n., 185
—— Book, ii. 185, 194, 292 n., 309 n.

E.

Eadburga, abbess of Minster, ii. 221
Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne, ii. 185, 190
Eanfled, queen, ii. 173
Easter, time of keeping, ii. 159, 174 n.; controversy respecting, 158, 172; synod of Whitby on, 174; Columbanus and the Frankish bishops, 212
Eastern and Western Churches, separation of, ii. 251
Ebbesfleet, ii. 152
Eckbert, abbot of Schönauge, on the heresy of the Cathari, ii. 476
Ecouan, valley of, ii. 465
Edessa, Nestorian school of, ii. 25
Edmund, king of the East Angles, ii. 413
Edmundsbury abbey, origin and history of, ii. 413
Edward the Confessor, ii. 413
Edwin, king of Northumbria, ii. 165; conference with Paulinus, 166; baptism, 169
Egbert, archbishop of York, ii. 272, 280 n.
Egfrid, king of Northumbria, ii. 191
Eginhardt, ii. 274
Eleanor, queen of France, ii. 461
Elfrida, abbess of Repton, ii. 404
Eligius, ii. 296 n.
Ely, monastery, ii. 403; foundation, 410; last stronghold of the Saxon patriots, 411, 412
Emmelia, mother of Basil, i. 41, 69
Emperor, seat in church, i. 171, 369; semi-divine honours to, 219, 388
Enceladus, i. 281 n.
Engelbert, abbot of St. Gall, ii. 316, 319
Ennodius, ii. 57, 131

Ephesus, Councils of, i. 284 n.: ii. 11, 31; 262
Ephrem the Syrian, i. 25; visits Basil, 71; beneficence in famine, 72; artifice, 73; hymns, 74; 296 n.; on Mary, ii. 83
Epictetus, bishop, i. 27
Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, i. 208, 264, 272; ii. 80
Erasmus on Jerome's learning, i. 296
Essex receives the Gospel, ii. 156
Ethelbald, king of Mercia, ii. 406
Ethelbert, archbishop of York, ii. 272
——, king, ii. 152, 160, 165
Ethelburga, queen, ii. 165
Etheldreda, ii. 410
Ethelfrid, king, ii. 163
Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, ii. 411
Ethilwald, bishop of Lindisfarne, ii. 186, 190
Eucharist, Chrysostom on the, i. 240; order of the divine sacrifice, Constantinople, 241 n.; bishop of Salford on, 241 n.; Chrysostom on disorderly conduct at, 242; development of the rite, 374; Athanasius, &c., on, 375; dissenting views of, ii. 255, 265, 431, 471, 493, 515
Euchites, ii. 266, 433
Euchrotia, a Priscillianist, i. 146
Eudoxia, empress, wife of Arcadius, i. 199, and *seq.*
——, wife of Theodosius II., ii. 123 n.
Eugenius III., pope, ii. 346, 393, 454
Eunapius, i. 386 n.
Eusebian canons, i. 129, 432; ii. 189 n.
Eusebius, of Cæsarea, i. 181 n.
——, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, i. 61, 64
—— of Dorylæum, ii. 7, 32
——, eunuch, i. 27
——, monk, i. 402 n.
—— of Nicomedia, i. 119
—— of Samosata, i. 67, 78
Eustathius of Sebaste, i. 52 n.
Eustochium, daughter to Paula, embraces the Ascetic life, i. 266 and *seq.*
Eutropius, imperial minister, i. 190 and *seq.*
——, reader, i. 226
Eutyches, ii. 5; recluse life, 29; excommunicated, 30
Eutychians, ii. 28, 81
Evagrius' description of Chalcedon, ii. 38
Evervinus, letter to Bernard, ii. 470
Evetheus, presbyter, i. 231
Evodius, i. 326
Exarchs of Ravenna, ii. 58, 112
Excommunication, rite of, ii. 463
Exeter, ii. 217
Exuperius, i. 435, 441

F.

Fabiola, noble Roman lady, i. 269 n., 278
Facundus, bishop of Hermiana, his honest boldness, ii. 47
Fairbairn, on the Romish hierarchy, ii. 132
Faith, justification by, ii., 499 n.
Familiars, ii. 540 n.
Farne islands, ii. 183, 185 n.
Fasting, i. 382, 384: ii. 101, 265, 471
Fauriel, ii. 532 n.
Faustus, Manichean, i. 386 n.
Felicitas, ii. 60
Felix, "Saint," i. 151 n., 158, 427 n.
——, *Traditor*, i. 337
Fen country, ii. 405, 411, 412
Fenelon, i. 341
Ferté, La, ii. 364, 369
Festivals, disorderly, i. 429, 453
Fitz-Warrenne, ii. 136 n.
Flavian, bishop of Antioch, i. 185, 188
——, bishop of Constantinople, ii. 30
Flowers in worship, i. 370
Fontaines Castle, ii. 357, 361
—— monastery, ii. 208
Fortunius, Donatist bishop, i. 334
Forty martyrs, i. 69, 113
Fountains Abbey, ii. 365 n.
France, "knew not the day of her visitation," ii. 438
Francis d'Assisi, ii. 540 n.
Franciscans, ii. 88, 103 n., 106, 540
Franks, ii. 305, 526 n.
Frascati, ii. 301 n.
Frederic I., Emperor, ii. 469
Freeman on the Teutonic invasion, i. 116; on Ulfilas, 133; on the churches of Ravenna, ii. 58; on the palace of Theodoric, 60 n.
Frithigern, Visigoth, i. 124
Froude, on toleration, ii. 92 n.
Fulda monastery, ii. 224
Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, ii. 520

Fuller on the Roman Church in Britain, ii. 163
Funerals, ii. 440
Furness Abbey, ii. 365 n.

G.

Gaeta, ii. 301
Galerius, Emperor, i. 41
Galileo, ii. 386 n.
Gall, St., abbey, ii. 305; its splendour, 306; library, 306; *scriptorium*, 307; schools, 309; a political power, 315; invaded by the Hungarians, 316; partially burned, 319; menaced by the Saracens, 323; imperial visitation, 324; made a principality, 325; decline, 325
Galla Placidia, ii. 55, 56, 59; mausoleum, 63
Gallienus, Emperor, i. 117
Galloway, ii. 138
Gallus, disciple of Martin, i. 430 n.
——, Emperor, i. 117
——, missionary, ii. 209 n.; his zeal against idolatry, 213; romantic fable, 214; erects an oratory in the forest, 215; his disinterestedness, 216; encounter with a bear, 313
Gamaliel, i. 396
Gascony, ii. 446, 457, 466
Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia, i. 69 n.
——, Donatist bishop, i. 343
Gazari: *see* Cathari.
Gegnæsius, Paulician, ii. 254; examination, 254
Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, ii. 380
——, chancellor, ii. 419
Geoffry, sub-prior, ii. 306 n.
George, St., i. 389 n.
Geralda, lady of Lavaur, ii. 526
Gerard, brother to Bernard, ii. 360
——, leader of the Publicani in England, ii. 478
Gerbillon, Jesuit missionary, i. 404 n.
Gerhard, archbishop of Cambray, ii. 439
Germanus of Auxerre, ii. 139
——, patriarch of Constantinople, on Mary, ii. 84, 244
Gervais, ii. 535
Gervasius, martyr, i. 158 n.
Gibbon, eulogy of Athanasius, i. 34; on Chyrsostom, 232
Giesmar, oak of, ii. 220
Gildas, ii. 149 n.
Gilles, St., ii. 446
Giovanni in Fonte, church, Ravenna, ii. 59, 71
Gladiators, combats abolished, i. 23; "the madness of the games," 309
Glass first made in England, ii. 191
Glastonbury legend, ii. 138 n, 424
Gloria in Excelsis, ii. 397
Glories of Mary, ii. 86
Gnostics, i. 165, 256, 405; ii. 250, 258, 264, 430
Godiva, ii. 87 n.
Goodmanham church, ii. 167
Gorm the Old, king of Denmark, ii. 288; his sepulchral mound, 289; monument, 290
Goslar, ii. 441 n.
Gothic language, i. 128
Goths, Arians, i. 21, 89, 116; persecution, 119; destruction of the nation, 133, 162 n; Chrysostom's work amongst, 193; Theotimus, 208; ravages of, 287: ii. 96
Gozbert, abbot of St. Gall, ii. 305
Grace, doctrine of, i. 348
Gracchi, Paula's descent from the, i. 266
Grammar set above morals, i. 302
Grantchester, ii. 405
Gratian, emperor, i. 15, 89, 111, 145, 161
Greek church, separated from the Latin, ii. 251
Gregorian Chant, ii. 114
Gregory Nazianzen, on prodigies at Jerusalem, i. 14 n.; on theological strife, 22; on the return of Athanasius, 26 n.; parentage and childhood, 43; baptism, 46; his life with Basil at Athens, 47; becomes a hermit at home, 50; his pattern of the true monk, 55 n.; visits Basil and studies Origen, 57; letters to Basil, 58; ordained priest, 62; discourse on his flight, 63; deceived by Basil, 65; visits Basil, 68; reclaims Gregory Nyssen, 70; helps Basil against Anthimus, 76; made bishop of Sasima, 77; reproachful letter to Basil, 79; apology for Basil's conduct, 80; coadjutor in the see of Nazianzus, 81; description of Basil's church service, 84; on Basil's death, 89; and character, 90; discourses, 92; retires to a monastery, 93; melancholy letter,

93; pastor of the orthodox church, Constantinople, 94; teaches Jerome, 95 n., 264; honoured by Theodosius, 96; elected bishop, 98; resigns, 99; farewell to the flock, 100; his satisfaction in retirement, 101; letters to a young friend on marriage, 102; his opinion of synods, 102; weakness and depression, 103; death, 104; his preaching and toleration of heretics, 104; on the beauty of spring, 106; superstitious practices, 107; oration on the nativity, 107; hymn to himself, 109; on preaching, 186; on virginity, 378; invocation of Athanasius, 390; on the theatre, 414 n., 25, 115, 202, 246, 280; on prayer to Mary, ii. 81; on Purgatory, 135 n.
Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus, i. 43, 60; consecrates Basil, 66; death, 80 n.
—— of Nyssa, on Arian topics in Constantinople, i. 8; mistaken attempt to reconcile Basil with his uncle, 68, 71; his youth, 69; marries, but is persuaded to abjure the world, 70; compelled by Basil to become bishop of Nyssa, 77; employed to hasten Nazianzen, 79; inaugural oration at Nazianzen's enthronement, 98, 115; exiled, 110; triumphal return, 111; visits his sister Macrina on her death-bed, 111; journey to Babylon, 113; visits Jerusalem, 113; his opinion of pilgrimages, 114; on baptism, 374; on virginity, 578; invocation of Theodorus, 391.
—— I., the Great, pope, edicts against Donatists, i. 341; on relics, 399; ii. 109; on the state of the Western Church, 110; Roman prætor, 110; capacity for business, 113; love of the cloister, 113; settles the Roman liturgy, 114; a martyr to the gout; character, 115; on slavery, 115; charity and almsgiving, 117; monastic severity, 118; humility, 119; ambition as pope, 119; exultation over the death of the emperor Maurice, 121; on the Christian ministry, 123; on reading the Scriptures, 124; on special revelations, on profession without holiness, 126; on miracles, 127; sentences from his works, 129; on purgatory, 135; British slaves in Rome, 150; sends Augustine to Britain, 151; spares the idol temples, 155; letter to king Ethelbert, 156; to Augustine, 157; rebukes Serenus of Marseilles, 276 n.
Gregory II., pope, ii. 244, 276 n.
—— V., ii. 298
—— VII. (Hildebrand) humbles Henry IV., ii. 380 n., 428 n., 434 harsh decrees against the married clergy, 449
—— IX., ii. 542
—— Thaumaturgus, i. 41
—— of Tours, i. 151
—— of Utrecht, ii. 217
Grimold, abbot of St. Gall, ii, 305
Grotto, of Jerome, and of the nativity, i. 274
Grneber, Jesuit missionary, i. 404 n.
Guibert, monk of Clairbaux, ii. 371
Guido, brother to Bernard, ii. 360
Guienne, ii. 434, 456
Gundulph, Italian reformer, ii. 440
Guthlac, ii. 403; character, 404; founds Crowland, 405; his visitors, 406; death, 407

H.

Hagiography, Romish, ii. 282 n.
Hall, bishop, on confession, ii. 92
Harald Blaatand, ii. 288
——, king of Jutland, ii. 286
Harding: *see* Stephen
Hartmut, abbot of St. Gall, ii. 305 310
Heathen, i. 4 n.
Hebrew, Jerome learns, i. 263, 291 Paula's knowledge of, 266, 285
Henricians, ii. 455, 459, 508
Henry I., emperor, ii. 316 n., 325
—— III., emperor, ii. 441 n.
—— IV., emperor, ii. 380 n.
—— I. of England, ii. 377
—— II. of England, ii. 413, 415; appoints the abbot of St. Edmundsbury, 419; condemns the Publicani, 480; penance at Becket's tomb, 481
—— VIII. of England, ii. 424
—— of Lausanne, ii. 448; the Whitfield of the Middle Ages, 450; at Le Mans, 450; removes to Languedoc, 452; opposed by Bernard, 454; imprisoned for life, 456

Heloise, ii. 393
Helvidius, lawyer, i. 268
Heraclius, emperor, ii. 83, 232
Herefrid, prior of Landisfarne, ii. 184
Heresy, i. 20
Hereward, ii. 411
Heribald, simpleton, ii. 317
Heribert, archbishop of Milan, ii. 433
Hermione, i. 179
Hilary of Poictiers, i. 7, 10, 25 n., 137, 253 n.
Hilda, abbess of Whitby, ii. 174
Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, ii. 450
Hildebrand: *see* Gregory VII.
Hildegarde on the treatment of heretics, and boldness in rebuking the clergy, ii. 475, and n.
Hiltibold, deacon, ii. 214
Hippo, i. 328, 353
Hippolytus, i. 373, 429
Hodgkin, Table of Arian heresies, i. 10 n.; on the tragic death of Marcella, 288; on Salvian, 417 n.; on the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, ii. 63
Holy Island, ii. 170, 185 n.
Holy places, i. 113, 273
Holy Spirit, divinity of, i. 87, 105; help in preaching, 330, 332
Holy water, ii. 465
Home synod, ii. 30
Homer, i. 58, 61, 302
Homo-ousian and Homoi-ousian, i. 10, 87 n., 128, 204
Honorius of Autun on the iniquity of Rome, ii. 395 n.
——, emperor, i. 23, 172, 228, 334, 340, 347, 421: ii. 55, 64
—— II., pope, ii. 334, 376
—— III., pope, ii. 528, 530
Hooker, panegyric on Athanasius, i. 34; on Basil's belief, 87 n.; on heresies regarding Christ's nature, ii. 29 n.
Hooper, bishop, on saint-worship, i. 391
Horace quoted, i. 286 n., 403 n.
Hosius of Cordova, i. 10, 25 n.
Host, i. 369 n.
Hot: *see* Arnold
Hottentot, Mohammedan, ii. 231 n.
Hours, recited by Jerome, i. 296
Hugh, abbot of Cluny, ii. 329, 428 n.
——, abbot of St. Edmundsbury, ii. 414; death, 417
——, prior of St. Edmundsbury, ii. 416, 419
Huguenots, i. 341: ii. 461
Hungarians, ii. 316
Huns, i. 117, 123, 278, 417
Huntingdon, ii. 408
Huss, predicts the Reformation, ii. 547 n.
Hymns, i. 74, 109, 174: ii. 247
Hypatia, philosopher, i. 18 n., 372
Hypsistarians, i. 44

I.

I-colm-kill, ii. 149
Iconoclasts, ii. 244, 255, 261, 276
Idolatry, Christian, ii. 121
Idols, destruction of, i. 16: ii. 168, 213
Ildefonso, king of Aragon, ii. 491 n.
Image-worship, i. 404 n.: ii. 244, 440
Immaculate conception, ii. 88
Incense, i. 371: ii. 440
Index Expurgatorius, ii. 282 n.
Indulgences, ii. 135, 499
Infallibility, ii. 552
Ingelheim, ii. 61, 273 n., 286
Ingulphus, chronicle, ii. 407
Innocent I., bishop of Rome, i. 228, 442
—— II., pope, ii. 377, 380, 383, 453, 468
—— III., pope, ii. 270, 469, 490, 493; character, 509; sole aim as pope, 509; lofty assumption, 510; measures against the heretics, 510; letter to Count Raymond, 516; dissimulates with Raymond, 523; is unable to control the Crusade, 527; at the fourth Lateran council, 528
—— IV., pope, ii. 349
Inquisition, i. 344: origin of, ii. 457; establishment of, 490, 539
Instantius, a Priscillianist, i. 145
Iona, ii. 149, 169
Ireland, the "island of the saints," ii. 148, 206, 221, 382
Irenæus on Mary, ii. 78
——, count, ii. 17
Iris, river, i. 53
Irish school of writing and ornamentation, ii. 292 n., 309
Isaurians, i. 229 and *seq.*, 288
Isidore, monk, i. 26, 205
—— of Pelusium on slavery, ii. 116
—— of Seville, forged decretals, ii. 131
Ithacius, i. 145

J.

James, patron saint of Spain, i. 389 n.
Jameson, Mrs., on the worship of the Madonna, ii. 72
Jarrow monastery, ii. 195
Jellinge, mounds of, ii. 289
Jeremiah, prophecy of the New Covenant, ii. 425
Jerome, letters of, i. 90 n.; taught by Nazianzus, 95 n.; on pilgrimages, 114 n.; his want of truthfulness, 181 n.; birth and youth, 257; goes to the East, 258; vision on his classical studies, 258; becomes a hermit, 261; his misery, 261; goes to Antioch and is ordained, 263; to Rome, 264; his scripture studies, and influence on Roman ladies, 264; advocacy of the ascetic life, 268; letter on virginity to Eustochium, 269, 381; outcry against him, 270; quits Rome, and retires to Palestine, 271; account of Paula's emotion at the holy places, 272; settles at Bethlehem, and builds convents, 273; his grotto and school, 274; person and habits, 274; on cleanliness, 275; reputation and manner of life, 276; letter to Marcella, 277; flees for fear of the Huns, 278; advises the lady Fabiola, 278; bitter controversy with Rufinus, 280; correspondence with Augustine, 282; adulatory titles in his letters, 284 n.; on the death of Paula, 285; distressed by Isaurian invasion, 288; affected by the capture of Rome, 289; writes the *Vulgate* version, 290; his linguistic labours, 291; writes against Pelagius, 295; sickness and death, 296; his learning, works, and character, 296; on mere traditions, 298; his life of the hermit Paul, 298; on the use of flowers, 370 n.; on the Eucharist, 375; on monks, 406; opposes Jovinian, 420, and Vigilantius, with scathing letters, 432; Newman on his perfection, 442; 25, 154, 328, 346 and n., 361, 445, 447 n.; on the virginity of Mary, ii. 81
—— of Prague predicts the Reformation, ii. 547 n.
Jerusalem, attempt to rebuild the temple, i. 13; pilgrimages to, 113; Paula's emotions at, 272; besieged by the Arabs, ii. 232, 423 n.
"Jerusalem the Golden," ii. 400 n.
Jessopp, Dr., on the three great letter-writers, i. 90 n.
Jews, i. 165, 291, 368
"Joannites," followers of Chrysostom, i. 224, 230 n.
Jocelin of Brakelond, his chronicle of St. Edmundsbury, ii. 414
John the Almsgiver, on slavery, ii. 48 n., 116
——, bishop of Antioch, ii. 10, 12; arrives at Ephesus, 14: compromise with Cyril, 21
—— de Bellesmains, archbishop of Lyons, ii. 467, 485, 490
——, bishop of Constance, ii. 216
—— the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 119
——, count, ii. 18
—— of Damascus, ii. 243; vizier, 244; treatises in favour of image-worship, 244; his right hand restored by a miracle, 245; discipline in the convent, 246; his hymns, 247
—— the deacon, ii. 114 n.
——, king of England, ii. 423, 510 n.
—— the grammarian, ii. 239
—— of Lugio, ii. 486
——, archbishop of Placenza, ii. 298
—— VIII., pope, ii. 428 n.
—— XXII., pope, ii. 523 n.
—— of Salisbury, ii. 489 n.
—— Zimisces, emperor, ii. 263, 428
Jonas, bishop of Orleans, ii. 280, 281 n.
Joseph of Arimathæa, ii. 138 n.
—— Studites, his hymns, ii. 248
Jouilli nunnery, ii. 360
Jovian, emperor, i. 14
Jovinian, i. 268, 419; writes his book and is excommunicated, 420; on asceticism, &c., 422; opposed by Jerome, 423; his teaching forgotten, 425; character, 444: ii. 93
Julian the Apostate, emperor, i. 12; attempts to rebuild the temple, 13; restores, and persecutes, Athanasius, 33; friendship with Basil at Athens, 47; enmity to Basil and Gregory, 60; death, 61; 161, 316, 386 n.
Julius Africanus on truthfulness i. 181
—— II., pope, 547 n.
—— Soranus dux of Syria, i. 122

Junius, Francis, ii. 181
Justin, emperor, ii. 57
—— Martyr on the Virgin Mary, ii. 78
Justina, empress-mother, i. 162, 164
Justinian I., emperor, i. 225 n.: ii. 47, 49, 61, 66, 83
—— II., emperor, ii. 253
Justus, monk, ii. 118
—— traitor, ii. 253

K.

Kæmpfer on the Buddhist worship, i. 404 n.
Kent receives the gospel, ii. 152
Kilpatrick, ii. 141
Koran, ii. 231, 240
Kornerup, Professor, ii. 292 n.
Krapotkin, ii. 402 n.

L.

La Celle, monastery, ii. 331
Lampon, presbyter, ii. 9
Lancelot, dom, tour to Alet, ii. 367 n.
Lanfranc, ii. 177 n., 385, 442 n.
Langres, ii. 196
Languedoc, ii. 446, 459, 467, 509
Lateran council, 2nd, ii. 468
—— —— 3rd, ii. 458 n., 488, 541 n.
—— —— 4th, ii. 91, 528, 536
—— —— 5th, ii. 547
Latin christianity, i. 293
—— language, disappearance of, ii. 109
—— of the Vulgate, i. 293
Latria, i. 395
Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 172 n.
Lausanne, ii. 448
Lavaur, capture of, ii. 526
Ledra, ii. 289
Leo, the Armenian, emperor, ii. 261
—— the Isaurian, emperor, ii. 244, 254, 276 n., 277
—— I., the Great, pope, i. 190 n.: ii. 34, 35; his letter on the nature of Christ, 36, 40; his decree on confession, 90; 109; on the supremacy of Rome, 130, 132
—— IX., pope, ii. 428 n.
—— X., pope, ii. 547 n.
Libanius, sophist, i. 43, 175
Liberius, bishop of Rome, banished, i. 10, 31; his bold attitude before the emperor, 27; recalled, 131
Library, ii. 306
Licinius, i. 69
Liège, ii. 439 n.
Life, human, inviolability of, ii. 431, 432, 493 n.
Lindisfarne, gospels: see *Durham Book;* priory, ii. 170 and *seq.*
Lindsay, Lord, on the mausoleum of Theodoric, ii. 68
Lisoius, canon of Orleans, ii. 435
Liturgy, Roman, settled, ii. 114
Liutward, ii. 307
Lombards, ii. 51, 105, 112
Lombers, Council, ii. 459, 541 n.
Louis the Pious, emperor, ii. 277, 286
—— VI., of France, ii. 332
—— VII., of France, ii. 391, 460, 466
—— XIV., of France, ii. 130, 496 n.
Lucian, presbyter of Carphagamala, i. 395
Lucilla, i. 399
Lucius II., pope, ii. 456
—— III., pope, ii. 458 n., 490
Luke, St., i. 389 n.: ii. 89, 90 n.
Lupercalia, ii. 87
Lupus, bishop of Troyes, ii. 139
Luther, on Ambrose, i. 173; an Augustinian, 329 n.; on the sale of indulgences, ii. 136; on the mass, 326 n.; on Bernard, 399; commences the Reformation, 547
Luxueil, monastery, ii. 208, 216
Luxovium, ruins of, ii. 208 n.
Lyons, ii. 484; poor men of, 485, and *seq.*, 505, 518

M.

Macrina, grandmother of Basil, i. 41
——, sister of Basil, i. 41; persuades him to abandon the world, 48; forms a convent, 51; death, 111, 113 n.
Madonna, ii. 65, 72, 82: *see* Mary.
Magic in the ancient world, i. 181
Mainz, ii. 494
Maiolus, abbot of Cluny, ii. 328
Maitland, Dr., on Jerome's letters to Paula, i. 265
Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, ii. 382; his labours, 382; visits to Clairvaux, and death, 383, 384
Malchus, hermit, i. 261
Mananalis, ii. 251
Manes, i. 308
Manicheism, i. 205 n., 270; Augustine's connection with, 304, 315: ii. 260, 263, 430 n., 441 n., 484 n.

Manning, Cardinal, ii. 86 n.
Mans, Le, ii. 450
Mansour, ii. 243
Marcella, i. 264, 276, 288
Marcellina, sister to Ambrose, i. 158, 166
Marcellinus, pro-consul of Africa, i. 335, 339
Marcian, emperor, ii. 37
Marcionites, ii. 250
Maria in Cosmedin, S., church at Ravenna, ii. 60
Marriage, i. 102, 424: ii. 433, 440, 442, 447, 451, 465, 472, 479
——, second, ii. 472
Marseilles monastery, ii. 94
Martin of Tours, birth, enters the army, divides his cloak with the beggar, i. 136; declines to fight, taken in by Hilary, 137; preserved from robbers, 138; plants the first monastery in Gaul, bishop of Tours, 139; his severe austerities, 140; reputed miracles, 141; his battle with paganism, 143; relations with the Emperor Maximus, 144; intercedes for the Priscillianists, 146; his communion with the blood-stained bishops, 147; death, 149; life by Sulpicius, 149; miracles at his tomb, 151; vision of the Evil One, 426; 25, 117 n., 152; ii. 138; abbey, 275
——, Abbé, on the robber synod, ii. 34
——, papal legate, ii. 136 n.
Martinmas, i. 149
Martyn, Henry, death of, i. 235 n.
Martyr's festivals, i. 107; in Dacia, 120; their relics, 122, 158, 199; offerings to, 160; as intercessors, 388; Jovinian on, 423 n.; Vigilantius on, 437; Bernard on the constancy of, and of heretics, ii. 474
Mary, "perpetual virginity of," i. 381, 420 n.; worship of, ii. 77 and *seq.*, 265: *see* Madonna.
—— Magdalene, relics of, ii. 460
Mass, *Missa*, i. 369 n.: ii. 114, 440, 444, 456, 477, 493, 499, 514; not the Lord's Supper, 514
Maurice, archbishop of Armagh, ii. 383
——, emperor, ii. 112, 120
Maximian, bishop of Constantinople, ii. 21, 66
Maximinus Daza, i. 41
Maximus, emperor, i. 144
Mayeul: *see* Maiolus
Medard, St., monastery, ii. 387
Medeshamstead: *see* Peterborough
Meletius, bishop of Antioch, i. 98, 263
——, bishop of Mopsuestia, ii. 23
Mellitus, bishop of London, ii. 155, 157
Melrose, ii. 182
Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, ii. 12, 14
Memory, Augustine on the, i. 362
Merseburg, ii. 226
Methodius, i. 181 n.
Metropolitan, title of, i. 190 n.
Metz, ii. 396, 494
Michael Angelo, ii. 73
——, patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 269
—— I., emperor, ii. 259
—— III., emperor, ii. 262
Middle Ages, ii. 109
Middleton on the idolatry of modern Rome, i. 386
Milan, edicts of, i. 5; council, 31; 311: ii. 378, 432 n., 433, 469
Milman on the Vulgate, i. 292; on the order of worship, 368; on the monastic life, 408: ii. 102; on the Nestorian controversy, 5; on the worship of the Virgin, 77; on Gregory the Great, 110; on Cædmon's poem, 182; on the Albigensian war, 519
Milon, ii. 533
Milton, ii. 181; sonnet, 504
Minerve, capture of, ii. 524
Ministry, the true, i. 186
Minucius, Felix, i. 370 n.
Mithra, temple of, i. 17
Modestus, prefect, i. 15, 82, 86 n.
Mohammed, his conquests, ii. 230: treatment of Pagans, Jews, and Christians, 231; charges the Christians with idolatry, 232 n.
—— II., i. 225 n.
Mohammedan conquest, i. 355, 359: ii. 227 and *seq.*
Molesme, ii. 352, 355
Monachism, i. 400; ii. 550
Monasteries, i. 183, 265: ii. 338
——, Buddhist, i. 403
——, double, ii. 178, 404
Monastic life in the Middle Ages, ii. 305 and *seq.*
Monkwearmouth monastery, ii. 191, 205, 292 n.
Monnica, mother to Augustine, i. 160, 301 and *seq.*

Monophysites, ii. 45, 49
Monothelite heresy, ii. 45 n.
Montalembert on Columbanus, ii. 209; on the Eastern monks, 229
Montauban, ii. 526
Monte Casino, ii. 97, 105, 110, 300
Montesquieu on the monks, i. 406
Montfort, castle of, ii. 433
——, Simon de, leader of the Albigensian war, 520; suspected of poisoning the viscount of Béziers, 522; accepts the conquered countries, 523; burns the heretics at Minerve, 525; assumes the title of sovereign prince of Languedoc, 526; complaints of the catholics against, 527; defeats count Raymond and the king of Aragon, 527; his death, 531
Montpellier, ii. 512, 528
Montreal, ii. 513
Morland, Sir Samuel, ii. 498 n.
Mosaics of Ravenna, ii. 62, 71
Mosheim on the Church in the seventh century, ii. 229 n.
Mozarabic liturgy, ii. 280 n.
Muret, battle of, ii. 527.

N.

Nabor, St., i. 158
Napoleon I., ii. 350, 495
Narbonne, ii. 527, 543
Narses, ii. 58, 83
Natural goodness of man, i. 345 n.
Nazaro and Celso, St. Ravenna, ii. 59
Nazianzus, i. 44, 80, 103
Neale, Dr., ii. 248
Neander on the doctrines of Athanasius, i. 35; on Augustine, 356, 424; on the worship of the Cathari, ii. 431
Nebridius, i. 314, 322
Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, i. 172 n., 190
Nene, river, ii. 408
Neo, bishop of Ravenna, i. 374 n.: ii. 59
Neo-Cæsarea (*Niksar*), i. 53 n. 384
Neo-Platonists, i. 38, 315
Nepotianus, i. 370 n.
Nero, i. 158 n.
Nestorian controversy, ii. 3 and *seq.*
Nestorians, ii. 25
Nestorius, i. 348 n.; doctrines, ii. 5; bishop of Constantinople, 6; orthodox zeal, 6; intolerance, 8; sincerity, independence of the bishop of Rome, 9; deposed and anathematized, 13; sent back to his cell, 19; his name a byword, banished, 24; his *tragedy*, 25; 390
Netley Abbey, ii. 365 n.
Nevers, count of, ii. 460, 520, 523, 534
New covenant, ii. 425
Newman, Card., anecdote of Martin, i. 152; on the maturity of the Church, 367; on Jerome's perfection, 442
Nicæa, council of, i. 29, 44, 67 n., 99, 118 n., 127, 190 n., 214, 377, 419; second council, ii. 276
Nicene Creed, i. 19, 85, 95, 97
Nicephorus, emperor, ii. 259
Nicholas, patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 266
—— II., pope, ii. 332 n.
——, a faithless secretary, ii. 345
Nicodemus, i. 396
Nigellus, archbishop of Armagh, ii. 383
Nilus, monk of Calabria, ii. 293; his singleness of purpose, 294; temptations, 294; humility, 295, 301; spiritual wisdom, 296; on oaths, 298; prophetic warning, 298; ardent charity, 299; freedom from bigotry, 300; peaceful death, 302; 428
——, monk of Mt. Sinai, 11, 294 n.
Nimbus, ii. 67
Ninyas, i. 149 n.: ii. 138
Niphon, monk, ii. 269
Nitria, monasteries of, i. 273
Nivard, brother to Bernard, ii. 361
Noble Lesson, ii. 498
Nones, ii. 99 n.
Nonna, mother of Gregory Nazianzen, i. 44
Northmen, ii., 286, 287
Northumbria, the Gospel in, ii. 165 and *seq.*
Norway, ii. 292
Notker, ii. 310, 314, 315
Novatians, i. 337, 339: ii. 433
Novellæ, ii. 328
Nursia, ii. 94
Nyssa, i. 78, 111

O.

Oak, Augustine's, ii. 160
—— of Geismar, ii. 220
——, synod of the, i. 211 and *seq.*

Oaths, i. 415 n.: ii. 298, 431, 432, 459, 476, 491, 493 n.
Oblations, ii. 465
Odilo, abbot of Cluny, ii. 329
Odin, worship of, ii. 289
Odo, abbot of Cluny, ii. 327
Odoacer, ii. 56
Oil, consecrated, ii. 440
Olympias, deaconness, i. 202 and *seq.*
Omar, ii. 232; character, 234 n.; in Jerusalem, 236; his mosque, 237; conquests, 239
Ora pro nobis, ii. 73
Ordeal by water, ii. 465
Oriental Church: *see* Nestorians
Origen, i. 57, 181 n., 205; condemned and defended, 208, 253, 257 n.; controversy on, 280, 284; compared with Augustine, 356; on fasting, 377: ii. on Mary, 80; and Abelard, 385
Orleans, canons of, ii. 435 and *seq.*
Orosius, i. 295, 346
Orvieto, ii. 469
Osma, bishop of, ii. 512
Ostrogoths, i. 123: ii. 103
Oswald, king of Northumbria, ii. 169
Oswy, king of Northumbria, ii. 173
Otho I., emperor, ii. 316 n., 322
—— III., emperor, ii. 298
—— IV., emperor, ii. 504
Otmar, abbot of St. Gall, ii. 305
Oxford, ii. 385, 479

P.

Pagan, i. 4 n.; altar in Rome, 161; worship, 371
Paganism, edicts to suppress, i. 15
Palatine school, ii. 273
Paley on the success of Islam, ii. 231
Palladius, i. 177, 211, 226, 236 n., 405 n.
Pallium, ii. 383
Pamiers, ii. 515 n.
Pammachius, i. 420, 424
Pamphilus, library of, i. 257 n.
Pantheon Christian, i. 386; at Rome, 387
Papacy, ii. 130, 509
Paris, university of, ii. 89, 375, 385, 476
Parthenay, ii. 380
Paschal I., pope, ii. 278
Paschasius Radbert, ii. 285
Passau, ii. 492
Paterini, ii. 464, 467 n., 469, 490, 508, 511
Patriarch, title of, i. 190 n.
Patrick, ii. 141; taken by pirates to Ireland, 141; his conversion and faith, 142; second captivity, 143; returns to Ireland, 145; his gospel preaching, 145; his humility, 146; Catholic legend regarding him, 148; his disciples, 148
Paul, a Paulician, ii. 254
Paul, "St.", chains of, ii. 123 n.
Paul the hermit, i. 48, 298
Paula, i. 264 and *seq.*; death and character, 284, 296
—— the younger, i. 296
Paulicians, ii. 250; slaughter of, 262; styled Manicheans, 263; gospel teaching, 264; make their way into Western Europe, 428
Paulina, daughter to Paula, i. 266
Paulinian, brother to Jerome, i. 258
Paulinus, bishop at Antioch, i. 263
—— of Nola, i. 150; letter to Sulpicius, 427; his fame, austerities and splendid church, 427; on disorderly feasts, 429; his rule, diet and clothing, 430; study of Scripture, 431; introduces Vigilantius to Jerome, 432
—— bishop of York, ii. 165; conference with King Edwin, 166
Paulus, monk, ii. 87
Pavia, ii. 214, 493
Peada, ii. 410
Pega, nun, ii. 407
Pelagius, i. 295, 345; germ of his doctrine, 345 n.; before a synod at Jerusalem, 346; condemned at Carthage and Rome, 347; his doctrine, 348, 351; character, 351: ii. 139, 390
—— II., pope, ii. 112
Penance of Theodosius, i. 171; of Fabiola, 279: ii. 472; of Henry II., 481; of Raymond of Toulouse, 518; of his son, 532; 135, 440, 472, 479
Penda, king of Mercia, ii. 410
Penitents, the several orders, i. 368
Pepin, ii. 58, 223
Perfect, the, ii. 431 n., 525
Perigueux, ii. 456
Perpetua, ii. 60
Persecution, Athanasius' views on i. 37; Chrysostom, on, 246; Theodore Studites, on, ii. 260; Waso, bishop of Liège, on, 442; Hildegarde and William of Paris, on, 475
Peter, "St.," chains of, ii. 123 n.

Peter, his dispute with Paul, Jerome and Augustine, on, i. 282, 284
—— of Brueys, his doctrines, ii. 444; fanaticism, 445; success in preaching, and death, 446, 448
—— of Castelnau, ii. 511, 513, 516; murdered, 517, 532
—— Chrysologus, ii. 60
—— of Cluny, ii. 307 n.; abbot, 333; dispossessed by Pontius, 334; restores the abbey, 334, 336; his wisdom and charity, 334; his defence against the charge of monastic declension, 343; friendship with Bernard, 344; letters, 344, 348; receives Abelard, 392; letter on Abelard's death, 393, 400 n., 446, 447
—— the hermit, ii. 238
—— of Sicily, ii. 250, 258, 264
—— de Vaux Cernay, ii. 493 n., 524, 526
—— Waldo: *see* Waldo
Peterborough abbey, ii. 403; founded, 410; makes terms with William the Conqueror, and is destroyed by Hereward, 411, 412
Petilian, Donatist leader, i. 336, 339, 343
Petrobrusians, ii. 447, 508
Petrus Gnapheus, bishop, ii. 82
Peyran, moderator of the Waldensian Church, ii. 495
Pharetrius, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, i. 230, 231
Philip Augustus, ii. 464, 492
—— II., of Spain, ii. 550 n.
Philippopolis, ii. 263, 429
Philocalia, i. 57
Philostorgius on the Goths, i. 117, 128
Phocas, Saint, i. 389 n.
Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 250
Picards, ii. 492 n.
Picardy, ii. 492
Picts, ii. 138, 149
Pictures in churches, i. 428 n., 430
Piedmont: *see* Waldenses
Pilgrimages, i. 113; 114 n,; ii 232, 273, 280, 417 n., 460, 476
Pillar saints, i. 411, 412 n.
Pinetum, at Ravenna, ii. 52
Piphles, ii. 467 n.
Pisa, council of, ii. 453
Pityus, i. 234
Plato, i. 274, 298, 345 n., 356, 405; on the state of the dead, ii. 133
Plautus, i. 259
Poictiers, i. 137; ii. 441
Pol, St., count of, ii. 520, 523
Polycarp, i. 121
Pontifical of Egbert, ii. 280 n.
Pontigny, ii. 364
Pontitianus, i. 317, 318
Pontius de Melgueil, abbot of Cluny, ii. 332, 337
———, monk, ii. 456
Pope, *papa*, i. 284 n.; ii. 130.
Popes from the 9th to the 11th century, ii. 428 and n.
Poplicani: *see* Publicani
Porphyrion, i. 281 n; ii. 27.
Possidonius, on Augustine's latter days, i. 353–355
Possidius, i. 336
Posting system, i. 426 n.
Postumian, i. 150
Prætextata, i. 267
Prayer, Chrysostom on, i. 253; for the dead, 325; ii. 445, 453, 514
Predestination, Augustine, on, i. 349
Premonstratensians, ii. 354 n.
Priesthood, Chrysostom, on the, i. 238; Salvian, on, 416; ii. 265, 425, 430, 437, 465, 548
Prime, ii. 99 n.
Principia, i. 289
Priscillian and his sect, i. 145; ii. 545 n.
Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, ii. 7, 22; on Mary, 82
Procopius, ii. 64
Prosper Merimée on the sculptur s of Vezelay Church, ii. 461 n.
Protasius, martyr, i. 158 n., 159 n.
Protevangelium of James, i. 381
Provence, ii. 446, 493, 509
Publicani, burnt at Vezelay, ii. 4 4, 467 n.; in England, 478; cruel persecution of, 480
Pulcheria, empress, i. 236; ii. 37
Purgatory, ii. 133, 430, 445, 472, 493, 499, 514
Purification festival, ii. 87
Puritans, ii. 467 n.

Q.

Quarto-decimanians, ii. 159, 174 n.
Quichelm, ii. 165

R.

Rancé, De, ii. 366
Raoul, papal legate, ii. 511

Raphael, ii. 73
Ratpert, monk of, St. Gall, ii. 310, 315
Ravenna, baptistery, i. 374 n; early history, ii. 50; capital of Italy, 51, 55; Pinetum, 52; churches, 54, 58, and *seq.*; under Galla Placidia, 55; Theodoric, 56, 60, 68; mosaics, 62
Raymond, count of Toulouse, his character, ii. 516; excommunicated, 516, penance, 518; compelled to head the Crusaders, 519–523; joins his people, 525; offers to surrender his dominions in favour of his son, 527; a second time throws himself upon his people, 529; death, 531; at the fourth Lateran Council, 537
———— the younger, count of Toulouse, ii. 527, 529, 532, 537
Reichenau Abbey, ii. 316, 324
Reinerius Saccho, on the Waldenses, ii. 492, 493, 505
Relics, worship of, i. 157, 370, 395, and *seq.*: ii. 121, 518
Repentance, Chrysostom on, i. 252
Repton monastery, ii. 404, 405, 407
Rheginus, bishop, ii. 13
Rheims, council of, ii. 441, 456
Ric, saxon term, ii. 154 n.
Richard Cœur de Lion, ii. 422, 464
—— duke, ii. 435
Richarda, empress, ii. 307
Richelieu, ii. 491
Rievaulx Abbey, ii. 365 n.
Ripon monastery, ii. 182
Riparius, i. 435
Robber synod, ii. 34
Robert, abbot of Citeaux, ii. 353
——, duke of Sicily, ii. 377
——, monk of Clairvaux, ii. 337
Roberts, on want of truthfulness in the Fathers, i. 181 n.; on Chrysostom's letters, 244 n.; on Jerome, 297; on the Nestorian Controversy, ii. 6; on the origin of purgatory, 133
Rochester, ii. 416
Roger of Hingham, ii. 416, 419
Romanus, monk, ii. 95
Rome, paganism in, i. 18, 19 n.; taken by Alaric, 22, 288; introduction of monachism at, 26; pagan altar to Victory at, 161; Christian life at, 264; fall of, 289, 360; Boniface on the malpractices of, ii. 223; Bernard on the corruptions of, 394; Baronius and Genebrard on, 427, 428; 493, 514
Rome, bishop of, becomes a temporal prince, ii. 58: *see* Papacy
Romulus Augustulus, ii. 56
Rosary, ii. 86
Rossana, ii. 293
Rosweyd, i. 389 n.
Roussillon, ii. 467
Rufina, i. 266
Rufinus, historian, i. 14 n.; relations with Jerome, 258, 280; 346 n, 433
——, master of the imperial household, i. 167, 170
Ruffner, on virginity, i. 376
Runic monuments, ii. 289, 292 n.

S.

Saba, martyr in Dacia, i. 121
Sabas, St., monastery, ii. 246 and n.
Sabatati, ii. 487 n., 534
Sabbath, Augustine on the Great, i. 365
Sacraments, 430, 432, 434 n, 439, 465, 479, 499: *see* Baptism and Eucharist
Saints, Christian, and pagan heroes, i. 371; saint worship, 386; Tutelary, 389; calendars and lives of the, 389 n.; intercession of, 429 n.; invocation of, 439, 440: ii. 430, 434, 436, 453, 472, 499, 514
Saladin, ii. 239
Sales, Francis de, i. 341
Salford, bishop of, on the Mass, i. 241 n.
Salomon, abbot of St. Gall, ii. 309 n., 313
Salvation by Christ, Chrysostom on, i. 254; by works, 352, 353
Salvian on the church, i. 415: ii. 394
Samosata, ii. 251, 262
Sampson, abbot of St. Edmundsbury, his worldly wisdom, ii. 416; his method for the choice of an abbot, 418; is elected abbot, 420; his rigour and independence, 421; his judicial ability and probity, 422; martial character and loyalty, 423; despises dainty monks, 423
Samson, archbishop of Rheims, ii. 456
Sapor, King of Persia, i. 42 n.
Saracens, i. 134: ii. 237, 241, 261, 323, 328
Sarmatio, i. 425

Sasima, i. 77, 81
Satyrus, brother to Ambrose, i. 156, 376
Saxons in England, ii. 139, 154 n.
Schaff, on Pelagianism, i. 351; on Augustine, 356, and his *City of God*, 360; on the Monophysites, ii. 49
Scholastica, sister to Benedict, ii. 104
Scipios, Paula's descent from the, i. 265
Scot, native of Ireland, i. 346 n.; Scottish Church, ii. 141, 169, 173, 309
Scott, C. A. A., on Ulfilas and Teutonic Arianism, i. 117, 126
Scriptorium, ii. 307
Scriptures, Ulfilas' translation, i. 128, 134; Chrysostom, &c., on, 248; diffusion of copies, 251 n.; to be read by all men, 249, 251; ii. 256, 332, 499; studies and Latin version of Jerome, i. 264 and *seq.*, and see *Vulgate;* Paula's love for, 287; Sulpicius, 426, and Paulinus' study of, 431; withheld from the people, ii. 256, 306 n., 308, 542 n.; only partially accepted, 264, 431, 440, 459; knowledge of by heretics, 456, 489 n, 493, 494
Sea kings, ii. 293
Seleucia, lady of Cæsarea, i. 231
Seljukian Turks, ii. 238
Selsey, ii. 177
Sens, synod of, ii. 391
Septuagint, corrected, i. 292
Sequences, ii. 311 n.
Serapion, priest, i. 214, 226
Serapis, temple of, i. 17
Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, ii. 276 n.
Sergius of Damascus, ii. 243
——, Paulician, conversion, ii. 256; labours, 258; spiritual pride, 259; violent death, 261
Sermon of faith, ii. 543 n.
Severian, bishop, i. 200, 203, 214
Sexte, ii. 99 n.
Shakspeare, quoted, ii. 363 n.
Sherborne, ii. 355 n.
Sidroc, earl, ii. 408
Silvanus: *see* Constantine
Simeon: *see* Stylites
Simonians, Nestorians so called, ii. 27
Simplician, bishop of Milan, i. 173, 316
Sin, Chrysostom on, i. 252, 254; original, Augustine on, 346, 349 Jovinian on sins, 423
Sindolf, ii. 315
Singing in churches, i. 159, 203, 368; ii. 114, 268, 445
Sintram, ii. 309 and n.
Siricius, bishop of Rome, i. 146, 271, 420, 421, 427: ii. 130
Sismondi on the Albigensian war, ii. 531 n.
Sixtus III., pope, ii. 148
—— IV., ii. 88
Slandering the absent, i. 330
Slaves, i. 328: ii. 48 n., 115, 116, 177
Soissons, council of, ii. 386
Soothsaying, i. 181, 307
Sophia, St., church of, i. 95, 220, 225
Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, ii. 233, 236
Sortes Biblicæ, ii. 539 n.
Southey, description of excommunication, ii. 463 n.; of Henry II.'s penance, 481
Sozomen on Ulfilas and the Goths, i. 117, 119, 123
Spiritual sisters, i. 380
Stephen of Ansa, ii. 486
——, Ban of Bosnia, ii. 270
—— of Bourbon, ii. 494
——, canon at Orleans, ii. 435
—— Harding, ii. 353; abbot of Cîteaux, 355; his *charter of charity*, 356; his erudition, 356; 365, 371
——, martyr, i. 359 n., 396
—— of Tournay, ii. 466
Stigmas, i. 392
Stilicho, general, i. 23, 172
Strasburg, ii. 494
Stylites, Simeon, i. 411, 412
Subiaco, ii. 95
Sudarium, ii. 523 n.
Sueves, i. 22, 287
Sufferings, Chrysostom on the reward of, i. 244
Sulpicius Severus, his *Life of Martin* and *Dialogues*, i. 140, 148, 430 n.; on Jerome at Bethlehem, 275; his hope in Martin, 393; relations to Vigilantius and Paulinus of Nola, 426, 427, 428 n.
Sunderland, ii. 193
Supper, Lord's, spiritual views of the, ii. 255, 265, 430–479, *passim*; *see* Eucharist
Sweden, ii. 286
Symbolism, Augustine's, i. 332 n.

Symeon, Paulician, ii. 252; his conversion, 253; death, 254
Symmachus, pagan prefect of Rome, i. 161, 311
——, pope, ii. 131
Symonds on the Pinetum, Ravenna, ii. 52; on S. Apollinare in Classe, 53; on the tomb of Theodoric, 70
Synesius, i. 372
Syrianus, general, i. 31

T.

Tapers, burning, i. 437, 438
Tartarus, ii. 134
Tatwine, ii. 405
Taylor, Isaac, on recluse life, i. 56; on Chrysostom, 255; on Jerome, 298, 443; on Augustine, 358; on the virginity of Mary, 382; on Asceticism, 410; on the state of the Church at the Mohammedan conquest, ii. 228
Telemachus, monk, i. 23
Telonarii, ii. 464, 467 n.
Tertullian, i. 253, 355, 373: ii. 347; on the Virgin Mary, 79
Tesselin, father to Bernard, ii. 357
Tetzel, ii. 136
Teutonic invasion, i. 116; Arianism, 126; languages, represented in Ulfilas' Gothic Scriptures, 132
Thanksgiving, Chrysostom on, i. 255
Theatre, Chrysostom on the, i. 242, 414
Theodemir, abbot, ii. 278
Theodisc, canon, ii. 525
——, bishop of York, ii. 141 n.
Theodora, empress, ii. 66
——, regent, ii. 262
Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 203 n.
——, bishop of Mopsuestia, i. 179, 249, 345 n.: ii. 4, 47
——, Paulician, ii. 254
—— Studites, ii. 260, 442
Theodoret, i. 249: ii. 10, 22, 30, 34, 38, 41, 47; his unselfish life, 43; on blind faith, 44
Theodoric the Goth, ii. 56, 60; palace, 60; mausoleum, 61, 68
Theodorus, martyr, i. 391
——, imperial secretary, i. 181 n.
Theodosius I., Emperor, i. 15, 95, 133, 164, 181 n., 188, 203, 399, 421
—— II., i. 236, 412, n.: ii. 11, 31, 37, 55
Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, ii. 274
Theonas, bishop of London, ii. 141 n.
Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, i. 16, 191, 204 and *seq.*, 372
—— Bosphoritanus, i. 118 n.
Theotimus, Gothic bishop, i. 208
Theotokos, ii. 4, 7, 81, 255
Thessalonica, massacre at, i. 167
Thetford, ii. 413.
Thierry, on Theotimus the Goth, i. 209; on the Christian ladies of Rome, 265; on the fall of Rome, 290 n.
—— II., king of the Franks, ii. 212
——, St., abbot of, ii. 338; visit to Clairvaux, 372
Thieto, abbot of St. Gall, ii. 319
Three Chapters, The, ii. 47
Thyestean banquets, ii. 436
Thyra, queen of Denmark, ii. 288; her sepulchral mound, cross and cup, 289; monument, 290
Tierce, ii. 99 n.
Tigrius, priest, i. 214, 226
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, i. 384
—— *see* Gegnæsius
Timotheus Salophaciolus, patriarch of Alexandria, ii. 46
Tintern Abbey, ii. 365 n.
Tisserands, ii. 508
Tithes, ii. 465
Titus: *see* Symeon, ii. 253
Toleration, Athanasius on, i. 37; Gregory Nazianzen on, 104; Chrysostom on, 246; Froude on, ii. 92 n.; Waso on, 442; Hildegarde on, 475
"*Tolle lege*," i. 320
Tonsure, ii. 158
Totila, ii. 103
Touillon, count of, ii. 360
Toulouse, ii. 453, 457, 466, 467, 509, 527, 533, 543; councils of, 441, 446, 541
——, council of heretics near, ii. 458
Tournay, St. Martin's at, ii. 307
Tours, council of, ii. 457, 541 n.
Toxetius, i. 266
Traditions, Basil on, i. 297; Jerome, 298; Augustine, 357
Traditores, i. 337 n.
Transubstantiation, ii. 285 n., 514: *see* Eucharist
Trappe, La, monastery, and Trappists, ii. 367
"Travellers to Heaven, notice to," i. 243 n.
Trent, council of, i. 295, 353; on confession, ii. 91

Trinity, i. 34, 100 ; Augustine on the, 360
Troubadour, lay of the Albigensian crusade, ii. 467 n., 509, 532, 536, 539 n.
Troyes, ii. 401 n.
Truth, Augustine on seeking the, i. 305 ; cannot be wholly grasped by reason, 350
Truthfulness among the Fathers, i. 66, 68, 71, 179, 181 : ii. 545 n.
Tuke, on the influence of the fine arts, ii. 73
Turgar, monk, ii. 408
Turketul, ii. 409
Turks, Seljukian, ii. 238
Tusculum, ii. 301
Tutilo, monk of St. Gall, ii. 310, 312, 315
Tyana, i. 76
Tychicus : *see* Sergius.
Tyre, ii. 239 ; council of, i. 28

U.

Ulfilas, 25; birth, i. 118 ; life at Constantinople, 119; bishop of the Goths, 119 ; driven within the empire, 120 ; his creed, 127 ; his version of the Scriptures, 128, 193 ; viewed doctrinally, 130 ; philologically, 132 ; his other writings and death, 133 ; specimen of the *Codex Argenteus*, 134
Ullman on religion and theology, i. 21.
Ulric, abbot of La Celle, pilgrimage to Jerusalem, ii. 329 ; charity, 329 ; missionary work, 330
Ulrich, count, ii. 320
"Universal Bishop," ii. 119, 120 n.
University life at Athens, i. 46, 48 n.
Urban II., pope, ii. 238.
—— VIII., ii. 386 n.
Ursicinus, contest at Rome, i. 64 n., 418
Ursus, bishop of Ravenna, ii. 59
Ussher, ii. 181 ; employs Sir S. Morland to collect Waldensian manuscripts, 498 n.

V.

Valence, ii. 518
Valerian, emperor, i. 117
Valerius, bishop of Hippo, i. 328
Valens, emperor, i. 14, 33, 63 and *seq.*, 76 and *seq.*, 110, 124, 181
Valentinian I., emperor, i. 14, 156, 181
—— II., i. 15, 159, 161, 164
Valentinian III., ii. 55, 64, 131
Vandals (Arians), i. 21, 23, 132, 287, 341, 353
Vaudés, ii. 502
Vaudois : *see* Waldenses
Vaux-Cernay, abbot of, ii. 520, 524, 526
——, Peter, monk of, ii. 520, 526
Veile, ii. 289, 293
Verona, baptistery at, i. 374 n. ; council of, ii. 458 n., 490, 541 n.
Veronica, ii. 523 n.
Vespers, ii. 99 n.
Vezelay, ii. 460, and *seq.*
Victor, cook, i. 430
Victor Amadeus II., ii. 496 n.
Victorinus, i. 316
Victory, altar to, i, 161
Vigilantius, i. 281 n., 425 ; taken into the service of Sulpicius, 426 ; goes to Nola, 427 ; visits Jerome, 432 ; offends him, 433 ; writes against relics, &c., 435 ; Jerome's reply to his book, 437 ; subsequent history, 442 ; character, 444 ; ii. 281 n.
Vigils, i. 437 : ii. 99 n., 100
Virgil, i. 302 ; on the state of the dead, ii. 134
Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg, ii. 221
Virgin Mary : *see* Mary
Virginity, extolled by Ambrose, i. 157 ; by Jerome, 269, 381 ; origin of, 376 ; Ruffner on, 377 ; Athanasius, &c., on, 377 ; in contempt, 379 ; perpetual, of Mary, 381
Viride Folium, castle, ii. 455
Visigoths, i. 124
Vitale, S., church in Ravenna, ii. 61, 66
Vitalis, bishop at Antioch, i. 263
Viterbo, ii. 469
Vitiges, ii. 58
Vivarium, ii. 99
Vogüé, De, on the ruined cities of Syria, ii. 241
Votive offerings, i. 370, 371 n.
Vow, monastic, i. 425 n. ; of steadfastness ii. 98
Vulgate, quoted, i. 139 n. ; origin of, and Jerome's labours in preparing, 290 ; reception and gradual acceptance as authoritative, 293 ; correction of, ii. 273, 356

W.

Waddington on the failure of the second crusade, ii. 462 n.

Waldenses, ii. 484 and *seq.*, 511, 515 n.
Waldo, Peter, ii. 484; conversion of, and forms the fraternity of the Poor Men of Lyons, 485; translates the Bible into Gallo-Provençal, 486; is excommunicated, 490; flees to Picardy, and thence into Bohemia, 492
Walter Mapes, on the Poor Men of Lyons, ii. 488
War: Martin's refusal to fight, i. 137; war condemned by the Cathari, &c., ii. 431, 432, 476
Waso, bishop, on persecution, ii. 442
Wasserburg, ii. 317
Waverley Abbey, ii. 365 n.
Welland, ii. 406
Wendelgarde, ii. 320
Westcott on the Vulgate, i. 292
Whitby, synod of, ii. 174; a double monastery, 178
Whithorn, ii. 139 n., 186
Whittier, quoted, ii. 111 n.
Wiborad, ii. 317
Wicliffe, ii. 160 n., 546; on indulgences, 136
Wigfrith, ii. 406
Wilfrid, archbishop of York, ii. 173; disputes with Colmar concerning Easter, 174, 175; stranded on the coast of Sussex, 176; exiled, converts the people of Sussex, 176; frees his slaves, 177
——, abbot, ii. 406
William, count of Aquitaine, ii. 380
William the Pious, duke, ii. 327
—— of Champeaux, ii. 359, 385; his care over Bernard, 372
—— the Conqueror, ii. 329, 411, 413
——, abbot of Hirschau, his wisdom, ii. 331; sends forth copies of the Scriptures, 332
—— of Newbury, his account of the Publicani in England, ii. 478
—— of Paris, on "the tares and the wheat," ii. 475
——, the Sacrist of St. Edmundsbury, ii., 415, 419
Wimbert, abbot, ii. 221
Winfrid: *see* Boniface
Winchester, bishop of, ii. 419
Wiseman, card., ii. 86 n.
Wittenberg, ii. 547
Women of Antioch, i. 12 n.
Works, good, Chrysostom on, i. 243; Catholic Church on, 353; Augustine on, 424
Wormwood, valley of, ii. 369
Worship, Chrysostom on, i. 245; Milman on, 368; on feast days, 370

Y.

York, ii. 165, 177 n., 409; school of, 272

Z.

Zoroaster, i. 405
Zosimus, bishop of Rome, i. 347

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